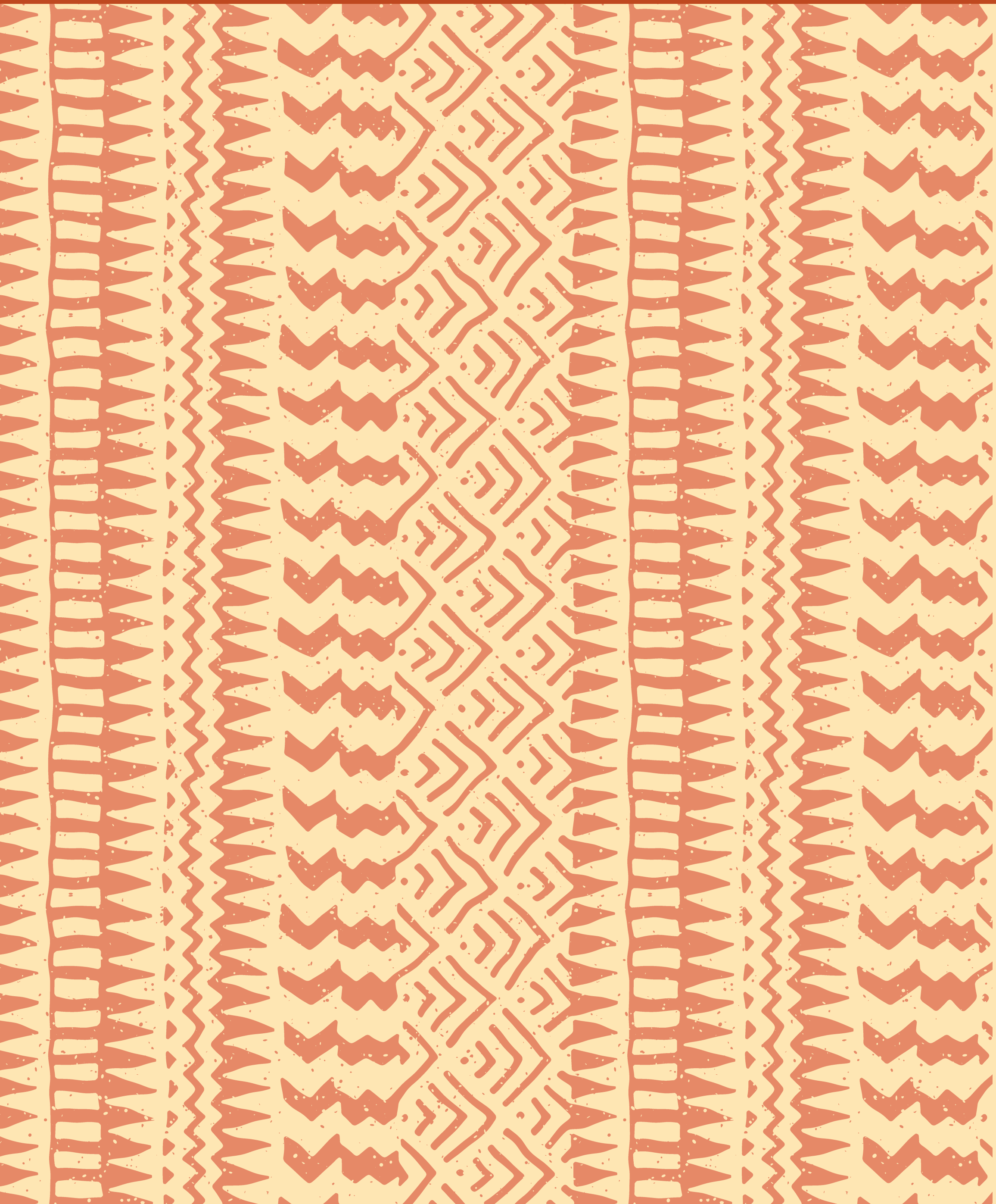
A Further Exploration of the Rowe Chavín Seriation and its Implications for North Central Coast Chronology

Peter G. Roe



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STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY NUMBER THIRTEEN

A FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE ROWE CHAVÍN SERIATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR NORTH CENTRAL COAST CHRONOLOGY

PETER G. ROE

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A Further Exploration of the Rowe Chavín Seriation and Its Implications for North Central Coast Chronology

Introduction

AS THE TITLE INDICATES, I intend this seriation to act as a supplement to, rather than a replacement of, John Rowe's analysis. However, the present study was done as independently as possible of Rowe's exact procedure, a task facilitated by his previous exposition of the Chavín style (Rowe 1962, 1967), which delineated the main characteristics of its evolution and was not intended to provide an exhaustive discussion of all diagnostic criteria. The primary aim here is to make the content of each period more explicit. Thus I hope that it will now be easier to make precise statements about the dating of a particular piece, by employing some of the features and organization developed here, than was possible by using Rowe's published works alone. While agreeing with Rowe (1967:77) that "it is not necessary to be able to place every piece," I have tried to assign more pieces to specific periods than he did, with the hope of detecting patterns from the resultant array of dated specimens.

The relative dating of the Chavinoid centers of the North Central Coast will be a unifying problem of this exercise. Immediately relevant, then, is a seriation of the human figure, a task not undertaken by Rowe. Donald Lathrap has assembled some notes on the subject which he was kind enough to let me examine. A similar examination of the chronological implications of the snake motif is a further requirement in this study. Here, too, the discussion follows Lathrap's notes quite closely, although I hope that enough original observations will follow so as to make this more than a clerical exercise in judicious plagiarism. At this point in the history of research in the problem area, this paper can be regarded as no more than an argument in relative dating that will either be supported or refuted by future stratigraphic work.

Methodological Considerations

SERIATING across topography and distance, as I will attempt to do here, is at best a hazardous undertaking. However, Rowe has demonstrated that the Chavín style was sufficiently rigid in the control and application of its canons to warrant qualified comparisons with a coastal valley as far away as Ica (Rowe 1967: 73–4; Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:4). To obviate the confusion of geographical (regional) and chronological variables, I will try to keep them as separate as possible, following Rowe's lead in limiting the first version of the seriation to Chavín de Huantar itself. "When we say that an object from some other part of the country is decorated in the Chavin style we mean that it is substantially the same style as the sculpture at Chavin" (Rowe 1967:72). Only later will distant manifestations of the Chavín style be related to the sequence at Chavín de Huantar with the necessary qualification that their inclusion is indeed an extension of the system.

Chavín is located at 3,135 meters above sea level near the town of that name situated at the entrance of the Callejón de Conchucos on the eastern flanks of the Andean Cordillera Blanca. The site itself is between two rivers. The larger river, the Puchka, runs from the south eventually to drain into the Marañón to the northeast. In addition to Chavín de Huantar itself, the smaller Puchka basin sites of Qaucho or Oshnu, near the temple; Gotush, 5 kilometers to the southwest; Waman-wain near the pueblo; and Olayan or Yura-yako will be considered as one sample. All of these smaller sites are near Chavín de Huantar and, given the importance of the latter, intimate contact was assured (geographical data from Lumbreras 1967:49; Rowe 1967:72; Tello 1960:149–52). The site of Yauya to the north, just off the Marañón, is also included in the sample, largely because it is usually grouped with the sculpture from Chavín, and because of its relative proximity.

Regarding absolute chronology, I will follow Rowe's dates of roughly 1200 to 300 B.C. (1967:73) with the proviso that the upper range limit may be extended in the future. Luis Lumbreras (1970:133) gives a date of 1200 B.C. for the ceramics from the Rocas gallery at Chavín based on a radiocarbon determination. He remarks on the stylistic similarities of this pottery with the Lanzón, the type specimen for Rowe's earliest AB Phase. Therefore, there is evidence to assign this date to the first manifestations of this culture at Chavín. For the site of Kotosh in the Huánuco basin, Izumi and Sono (1963:154) cite a C-14 date of 3000±150 B.P., approximately 1000 B.C. for the Kotosh Kotosh ceramics and an identical date for the Kotosh Chavín ceramics at the site, which should be later. At Chavín de Huantar, the Ofrendas galleries yielded a C-14 date of 750 B.C. (Lumbreras 1970:132) for the Ofrendas pottery style which is beyond doubt attributable to the period in the evolution of the stone sculpture represented by the Tello Obelisk (Lumbreras 1970:143), the type specimen for Rowe's Period C. The above data can be used for the following correlation.

CHAVIN DE HUANTAR

Sculpture (Rowe 1967:74)		Ceramics (Lumbreras 1967:58–60, 1970:41)
1200 B.C.	AB	ROCAS
750 B.C.	C	OFRENDAS
	D	MOSNA
	EF	

An argument will be presented later in justification of the D dating of Mosna, but suffice it to say here that the independent evidence from the pottery corresponds to the stylistic evolution evident in the stone sculpture.

In addition to the variables of space and time, there exists the variable of material. The original Chavín seriation was limited primarily to subtractive stone carving. It could be argued that the principles evident in the seriation can be extended to processes analogous to stone sculpture. I do not maintain here that working in stone is exactly like working in ceramics, only that incising on the surfaces of pottery that runs from a dry to a leather-hard state calls for the same kinds of procedures and orientations to visual problem-solving (one way of looking at artistic creation) as does incising on prepared stone. Naturally the more obdurate material calls for more physical effort and greater "control" on the part of the artist, which *may* tend to result in a kind of pictorial rigidity. A more pliant material tends to encourage more "freedom," yielding a relatively cursive result. It is not proposed here that material is either a necessary or sufficient cause of a certain kind of representation, only that it offers broad parameters within which any art style has to operate and to which some styles will respond more than others. Chavín art seems to offer such a case of the interplay of media and execution.

Between ceramics and stone, the differences do not appear very significant, especially when both categories are incised, as are the majority of specimens in this style. However, differences do appear when the ceramics bear a painted design. In this event, they become more nearly comparable to painted textiles which often tend to be highly cursive and exhibit a margin of looseness not found in the stone sculpture. Examples that come readily to mind, which will be dealt with in greater detail later, are the important Mosna bottle design (Lumbreras and Amat 1966: Fig. 13b) and the Ica painted textiles (Figs. 12–19; Rowe 1962: Figs. 29, 30).

The classes of artifacts least amenable to direct comparison with stone sculpture are weaving and metalwork. The piece of cloth from Ancón illustrated by Willey and Corbett (1954: Pl. 24) is a perfect example of how weaving introduces a tendency to rectangularity, dictated by the tyranny of warp and weft, which makes a visual first impression that the piece is more "advanced" than a contemporary piece of ceramic within the same phase of stylistic evolution. In metallurgy, things become still more complex. Chavín metalwork, though including a variety of techniques not again rivaled until the Moche tradition, was still primarily concerned with embossing and repoussé. These techniques, by their very nature, seem to impose a tendency for simplification and stylization represented in its most extreme form by the curious specimens from the Lambayeque Valley illustrated by Samuel Lothrop (1941: Fig. 28a and b); the technical limitations make them appear more alien and later than they really are. Other works in metal seem more directly comparable to those executed in stone. One piece from the Bliss (formerly Simkhovitch) Collection, attributed to Chavín de Huantar, does "illustrate a metallurgical technique not hitherto recorded in the New World . . . working from the front and driving in the background to produce the pattern. The result is called champlevé, the normal manner in which Chavín motives were produced on flat stone surfaces such as the famous Raimondi panel" (Lothrop 1951:227). It is necessary to take into account the material of objects represented in the disembodied drawings floating around in the literature. This is done in this paper by noting the medium on the charts, and by discussing the implications of material in the summary sections.

The Structure of Chavín Art

Rowe's analysis of meaning in Chavín art is accepted here and forms the basis of the following discussion. Accordingly, my usage of such terms as "kennings," "agnathic," etc., is derived from the same source (Rowe 1967:79). The concept of "modular width," first suggested by Lawrence Dawson and used by Rowe (1967:77), gives a label to an obvious device that the Chavín artist used extensively.

The Chavín artist may have used another formal device related both to the above-mentioned "modular width" and "angular modularity" concepts. Using *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*, "modular" will be employed here as a "standardized dimension," and "template" as a pattern or mold used as a guide to the form being made. Design elements will be defined as the irreducible constituent elements of a whole design. The resultant construct is "modular design-element templates."

It is obvious that in addition to being rigidly conceptualized, Chavín art is rigidly executed. The curves are regular, the lines straight, as if they had been ruled. Moreover, the design elements themselves are often so nearly alike that they look as if they were copied, if not from one another, then from an independent model. In fact, something like that may have happened. The so-called "Lintel of the Jaguars" is a crucial piece in this regard (Fig. 9; Rowe 1967: Fig. 19). It is rather late, a baroque work. Figure 9 is a rendering that was constructed in a fully architectual fashion using templates. Since this is the way I did the drawing, and since the result is very close to the original—a piece very hard to draw accurately because of its complexity—I suggest that this was the way the Chavín artist originally executed the work.

In this hypothetical reconstruction, the artist had a few modular design-element templates which he had earlier drawn freehand. These templates were the following: the double-snake group below the lower lip (Fig. 10g); a mouth-band segment (Fig. 10e); the head complex containing the eye, nose, and above-the-nose fold (Fig. 10a); the small swirl head (Fig. 10i); a front-face agnathic mouth supplied with nostrils (Fig. 10j); a leg unit, either front or rear, since front and rear are identical (Fig. 10h); the curl-ear element (Fig. 10f); the behind-the-neck agnathic profile jaw and associated eye (Fig. 10d); and two back filler templates (Fig. 10b and c). These ten basic design-element templates are all that are needed to generate the entire complex cayman figure! Just to take one step as an example, the artist made the first double-snake profile-head group below the jaw, and then drew two more simply by sliding the original template back and repeating the whole procedure. The beauty of this system is that it makes possible the potentially endless replication of like elements, minimizing inevitable human error. Instead of two opposed cayman figures, I could have produced fifty! In a word, it is mass production.

In the early part of the sequence, it is hard to find such transparent cases of mechanized drawing except where the artist was called upon to execute a whole series of nearly identical works as part of a frieze (see Carrión Cachot 1948:28, Fig. 3). The cat/bird AB cornice figures (Fig. 1a and b; Rowe 1967: Figs. 11, 12) are good examples of such a case. Figure 1b differs from 1a only in a few details such as the small scallop below the cere on the bird mask of Figure 1b which is absent in 1a, and the fact that the wingspan of Figure 1b is greater. This lengthening of the wingspan provided space for the insertion of the small filler heads between the continuing mouth band at the base of the wings and the volute-jaws near the wing tips, so characteristic of this phase. The span of the wings was increased by the method just outlined. Both bird-guardians were derived from a single set of modular design-element templates. The Figure 1b specimen was created simply by sliding the wing units out a sufficient distance to leave space for the filler-head template to be replicated eight times.

The exact mechanism for this procedure is, of course, unknown. Thin cloth or hide with the design drawn on one side and smeared with charcoal on the other is one possibility. By tracing the design on the cloth with a hard stylus, it would be transferred to the surface of the stone previously smoothed to accept the image. Recent finds at Cerro Sechín (Mendoza and Román 1969:33) show that the figure to be incised in the stone was first indicated in charcoal, the chisel following the marked lines. Whatever the case, one can be certain that the Chavín artist did not compose his very complex renderings by starting out to chisel on a perfectly blank stone surface without any mechanical aids to his efforts. Even if a physical template was not always used, a mental one certainly was.

Valid statements about seriational chronology, such as Rowe's (1967:78) assertion that "the accommodation of designs to modular banding became increasingly strict in Late Chavin art, the curved lines of earlier designs being replaced in Phase EF by straight ones which interrupted the banding less," can now be made using the modular design-element template concept. As the EF Phase is approached, its use increases. The already mentioned tendency to rectangularity, generated by an increasing adherence to a strict modular-width concept, also made it easier to replicate like elements in a similar modular fashion. The two trends are not unconnected.

Though the general validity of the preceding observations of Rowe and of the author is clear, it is not always easy to implement these observations in terms of the dating of an individual specimen. In particular, Terence Grieder (personal communication 1970) has shown that a fully operational and quantitative implementation is difficult and in some cases ambiguous. Proceeding from that point, Lathrap (personal communication 1970) has suggested that "the best implementation of the modular design concept for the more classic Chavín specimen might be in terms of the number of lines in the design which can be considered part of a rectilinear grid imposed on the design field and the width of the most frequently occurring band." Clearly more detailed and fully quantitative studies of the problem are needed.

Explanation of the Feature Lists

As Rowe (1967:77) notes, "Chavin art is basically representational, but its representational meaning is obscured by the conventions which govern the Chavin style and, in many cases, by the fact that representational details are not expressed literally but in a figurative or metaphorical fashion." This *managed realism* is basically zoomorphic or anthropomorphic. Julio C. Tello (1960:164) leaned to the interpretation that the characters of Chavín art were "monstrous." Rowe (1967:82) also asserts that, while in the majority of cases the representations were simply portrayals of natural forms, some part-human, part-animal monstrous forms such as the examples portrayed on the Black-and-White Portal columns do occur. These are real compounds, a human figure that has taken on some feline traits, claws replacing nails, feline feet, and a feline head. Over the face of these guardians there is "the bird's beak and cere . . . attached to the profile like an ill-fitting mask" (Rowe 1967:80). Along the body, which is human in shape, sprout wings with four sets of primary feather elements as in all Chavín depictions of this figural type. The feathers do not, however, form an integral part of the body, implying that what is represented here is a Cat-Icarus figure.

On the other hand, this distinction does not justify creating a separate iconographic category, for these are the same divinities as those depicted in Figure 1a and b, where they are simply birds with cat attributes. The presence of "hawk markings" (Yacovleff 1932) on the north column (Rowe 1962: Fig. 10) reinforces this notion of identity. What exists here is one character, a bird-feline guardian angel that becomes, through time and with the increasing frequency of anthropomorphic representation in later Chavín art, a truly monstrous form.

The main iconographic figures in Chavín art besides the bird-feline (man) guardian angel already dealt with are the cayman (fish-feline) and the human-feline. The last category has been subdivided by Rowe into his "Staff God" and "Smiling God" figures. The precise religious significance of each of these beings is the subject of a literature (Carrión Cachot 1959; Tello 1923) which will not be treated here.

Another usage should also be defined, the distinction between mythical and non-mythical human beings. The former term denotes human representations with a feline mouth supplied with prominent canines, while the latter stands for purely naturalistic depictions. These are perhaps unfortunate terms because we do not know the significance of the figures to the people who created them; but since they have been employed primarily as a stylistic distinction, they will be retained.

This paper will employ in a systematic fashion Rowe's (1967:82) distinction between principal and subsidiary figures. A host of human and animal characters such as monkeys, hawks, owls, and snakes can act as subsidiary figures. The subsidiary figures are usually portrayed without the elaborate kennings that accompany the main divinities discussed above. As Tello (1923) suggested, these may represent mythical analogues when they appear with a major deity form, as on the Tello Obelisk. For example, the realistic eagle on the Tello Obelisk may represent the Guardian Bird-Angel. When these secondary figures appear alone or are, in turn, accompanied by subsidiary figures, they become, by definition, primary figures, and must be treated as such. There is, of course, some intergradation between these two categories. Body parts of the subsidiary figures like eyes and mouths, which are as sensitive indicators of stylistic change as any others, are often simplified versions of the same parts on a major figure (Features 1 and 2, 40 and 41, 46 and 47, and 126 are just several examples of this tendency). There are even cases where the major figure has borrowed a body part from a subsidiary or even a filler-figure. The eye form of the Phase D "Smiling God" (Rowe 1967: Fig. 21) is ultimately derivable from the eye (Feature 7, see Chart III) associated with an agnathic mouth on the body of an AB cat representation (see Rowe 1962: Cover).

However, the primary/secondary-figure distinction is general in Chavín art. The conventions of representing body parts differed according to whether they belonged to a primary or secondary figure. The two categories also had slightly different rates and directions of evolution within the same general stylistic trend. For example, the evolution of the eye feature on a main figure must be separated from and treated differently than the evolution of the same feature on a subsidiary figure.

The serpent is a perfect illustration of this necessity for observing the primary/secondary distinction. It is the only subsidiary figure that does not occasionally appear as a primary figure. The form of the snake head is also more conservative, changing more slowly, than the major figures with which it is associated. Nevertheless, at one point in the sequence it changes radically and becomes more advanced than the major figure to which it is affixed. Beyond these various changes there is a major directional trend followed by the snake head that allows it to be used as a sensitive chronological indicator. It is also the feature most consistently explicable in terms of Rowe's metaphorical interpretation of Chavín art.

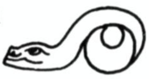
One difficulty in using any one of the major figures as the sole standard indicating evolutionary changes is their sporadic pattern of occurrence through the sequence. It may be just an accident of preservation that the cayman deity appears to be exclusively a Phase C and Phase D phenomenon. However, the fact that the Chavín artist took the trouble to portray the cayman differently than the cat, and did so only in certain periods of the style, seems to indicate that more was involved than sampling error. The difficulty of discontinuous distribution is obviated if the serpent is used. Besides the feline mouth and generalized felinid characteristics, the serpent is the ubiquitous symbol of the Chavín art style. It occurs throughout the sequence.

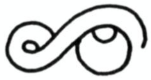
While Rowe recognized the temporal significance of change in the execution of the simple snake form, he did not regard the distinction between it and the elaborate collared cat-snake as being anything more than functional. In this paper, this distinction will be treated as a temporal variable. But first, some definitions are in order. The several varieties of snakes tend to polarize into two major categories, the "simple snake" and the "collared cat-snake." In the first stage of its development, the former is portrayed realistically. The eye is drawn separately from the nostril, which usually is supplied with a nostril hole. The mouth is represented by a single and separate line that forms an upward scallop different from the nose line. In its later variant, the mouth becomes a continuation of the eyebrow line as Rowe observed (1967:74). The collared cat-snake is characterized by a cat ear projecting behind the head as well as a collar and a feline mouth with indicated canines. It may also be supplied with a forked tongue extending beyond the lips or a single-wing tongue projection.

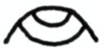
Now that a definition of terms used in the following feature lists has been accomplished, it is time to turn to the mechanics of the lists themselves. Each piece extant in the literature has been broken down into its diagnostic parts. Each part so treated then becomes a feature, defined for the purposes of this paper as a stylistically discernible unit. A preliminary seriation was then run on the defined features. After comparing the results with the Rowe seriation, the features were listed below and defined. Of course, many of the features were shared by more than one period so they are pictured in association with the period in which they first appeared at Chavín de Huantar. A drawing of each feature provides a visual summary of the characteristics of each period. In the right of each column there is a short explanatory note telling what kind of a figure the feature originally occurred with—whether primary, secondary, filler, or decorative motif—and its significance.

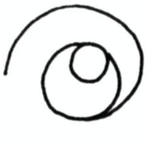
The Feature Lists

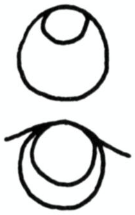
PERIOD AB

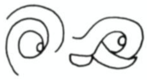
1

Feature 1 is a main-figure eye form. The brow projection ends in a serpent head which is the more complex form of the early simple-snake type. The projection itself may be straight or curved, although the latter form is more common.

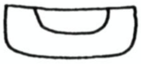
2

Feature 2 is also a main-figure eye form. It is obviously derived from the form above, the brow projection becoming a plain curl. The entire appearance of this feature is not unlike the geometric volute also used in the style.

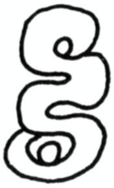
3

Feature 3 is a subsidiary-figure eye form where only the line of the upper lid is indicated, extending beyond the pupil as a single line only. The basically round eye is here cut lower to form a lenticular shape.

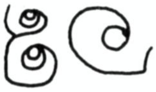
4

Feature 4 is a subsidiary-figure eye form. It hangs on the end of a swirl that may be considered a simplification of the brow projection of Features 1 and 2 above. Note how the whole image is one of a circle.

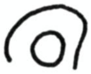
5

Feature 5 is a subsidiary eye form almost perfectly circular in outline. It is essentially the eye form of Features 1 and 2 above, but simplified in the respect that it either stands alone or with a vestigial lid line indicated. As always, the pupil hangs on the top edge.

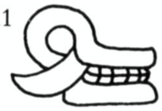
6

Feature 6 refers to the AB tendency to make every fold into an eye by the addition of a central pupil.

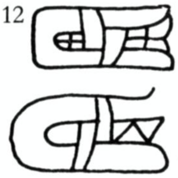
7

Feature 7 is a subsidiary-figure eye form that is markedly rectangular, but yet is relatively wide in comparison to its length. The bottom corners are rounded off.

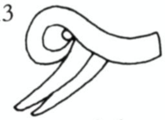
8

Feature 8 is an elaborate above-the-nose fold that forms an undulating line. The same treatment can also appear associated with the head and on the bodies of serpents. It occurs on main figures and accompanying figures.

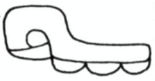
9

Feature 9 is the subsidiary-figure counterpart of Feature 8. In a simpler variant the nostril is formed by a single scroll.

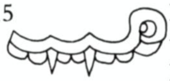
10

Feature 10 is a main-figure nose form related to the one above, but here all the elements are separate. The nostril sits in the middle.

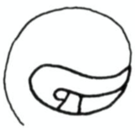
11

Feature 11 is a main-figure mouth form. The broad canines come only from the top. As Rowe has suggested, the upper portion of the mouth conforms to the agnathic mouth type.

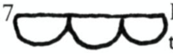
12

Feature 12 is also a main-figure mouth type. Here the tips of the canines are cut off by the lower line of the lip. The front teeth spread outward.

13

Feature 13, a main-figure form, is agnathic and has two canines descending in paired fashion from the upper lip. Note the mouth corner transformed into an eye and the general manner in which the mouth conforms with circular lines.

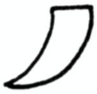
14

Feature 14 is a subsidiary mouth type where the canine follows the upturned lip, like the extension of a circle. The teeth are scalloped.

15

Feature 15 is a continuing mouth band which is actually an extended version of Feature 14. Characteristic of this period, the mouth is equipped with short, broad-based canines, the other teeth being scalloped. The canine follows around the mouth line in a circle.

16

Feature 16 shows the tendency for mouths to form circles. As noses were indicated with swirls, and eyes were pendant from them, so the mouth emerges from a swirl. Note that the canine is cut.

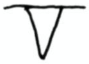
17

Feature 17 depicts how all non-canine teeth are indicated as a scalloped line. These teeth can be regarded as half-circles.

18



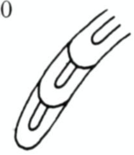
Feature 18 shows the typical sabre-like canines of the AB Phase. They are curved but yet not very long. The base is broad.

19



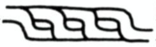
Feature 19 is the kind of tooth found in continuous and continuing mouth bands. Note that it is not very long with regard to its base.

20



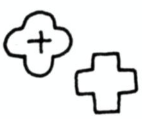
Feature 20 represents scales that perform a filler function within a figure. Each scale is broad and stubby. Furthermore, they only progress in a straight or only slightly curving line and do not change direction.

21



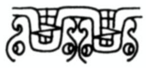
Feature 21 is a series of angular frets which Lothrop has plausibly derived from the intertwined bodies of snakes. Note the central space between contiguous units.

22



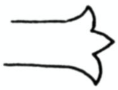
Feature 22 represents some of the pelage markings on cat figures characteristic of this phase.

23



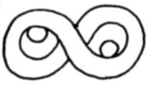
Feature 23 shows an early appearance of the "pelt convention" when applied to a series of double or dual faces that share a common lip band. It occurs as a subsidiary, decorative element on major figures.

24



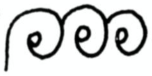
Feature 24 is the forked-tongue as it appears issuing from the serpent's mouth. It has a triple point instead of only two.

25



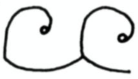
Feature 25 is a volute that often appears on the body of main figures. The central parts of the design have been converted into eyes.

26



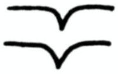
Feature 26 is a set of head curls, each one forming a circular swirl, presumably representing feathers and/or fur.

27



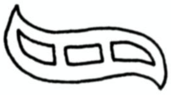
Feature 27 indicates the simple presence of repeated swirls that can be used for a multitude of functions besides and including those already specified.

28



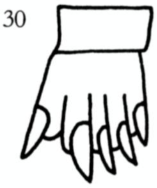
Feature 28 consists of a series of bands parallel to each other with a central dip, all pointing in the same direction. It is used as a filler element much as in the manner of Feature 20 above.

29



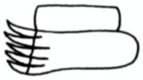
Feature 29 is a decorative element that appears on the body of a primary figure. While the details of the interior fill vary, the outline remains the same.

30



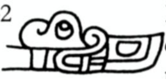
Feature 30 is a primary-figure hand. The hand is rounded and naturalistic, the fingers stubby and the fingernails are long. In all cases, the number of digits is anatomically correct. The bracelet is plain.

31



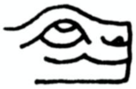
Feature 31 is the main-figure foot form. The heel is fully rounded, the number of toes is complete and they possess long toenails that curl upward to give the impression of fitting into a circle.

32



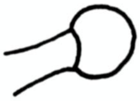
Feature 32 is a subsidiary-figure collared cat-snake with double head curl. The mouth projection or tongue is single-winged and points upward. Note that the canine is truncated.

33



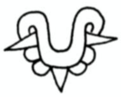
Feature 33 is a subsidiary-figure simple snake head. The eye is separate from the nostril line which now has a nostril hole. The one-scallop mouth is also present.

34



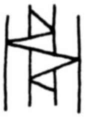
Feature 34 indicates that all the simple snake heads emerge from a ring on the body of the main figure.

35



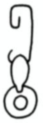
Feature 35 is a subsidiary-figure front-view agnathic mouth. The teeth are rounded, as indicated before. The general proportions are squat. The presence of the central fang is questionable; while it is shown on the drawing this was taken from (Rowe 1962: Cover), it does not occur on the photo in Tello (1960: Pl. XXIXa).

36



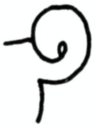
Feature 36 is a true continuous mouth band which is used only to mark the central axis of the body, the backbone. Again, the canines are short.

37



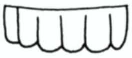
Feature 37 is a main-figure ear form. The bottom is obscured, but presumably it follows the top in outline. The earring forms an integral part of this feature.

38



Feature 38 is a main-figure ear type. It is the zoomorphic counterpart of the anthropomorphic Feature 37 above. The ear takes the form of a single upcurling element.

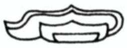
39



Feature 39 is a main-figure pleated skirt. The lower edges are perfectly scalloped.

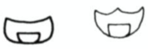
PERIOD C

40



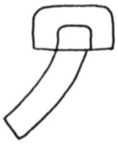
Feature 40 is a main-figure eye form. The eyebrow extension is here simplified to exclude the zoomorphic snake. Multiple lines surround the eye, indicating its importance. On the top edges there are points.

41



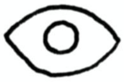
Feature 41 is a subsidiary-figure eye. Note that on the variant it is merely the main-figure eye of Feature 40 minus the brow extension. There is a tendency for the lines to bend upward.

42



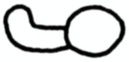
Feature 42 is a subsidiary-figure eye that results from Feature 7 simply turning upside-down. To distinguish it from earlier forms, the pupil rests on the bottom of the eye, as do the ones above.

43



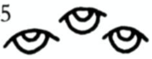
Feature 43 is a main-figure eye characterized by its lenticular shape. The pupil is round and floats freely in the center. Both ends are sharp points.

44



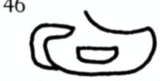
Feature 44 is a subsidiary-figure eye. A simple circle, it has an L-shaped projection.

45



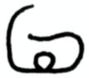
Feature 45 is a decorative device consisting of a constellation of Feature 3 eyes. It is their grouping, not their form, which is a unique feature of this period.

46



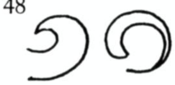
Feature 46 is a main-figure nose form. The nostril here floats in the center and is not attached to the lower line. The back is outlined twice to show its importance. Like the eyes, the contours of the nose bend upward.

47

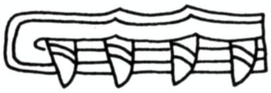


Feature 47 is a subsidiary-figure nose. It is slightly more bulbous in relation to later variants, but is chiefly distinguished by the concave upper line above the nostril.

48

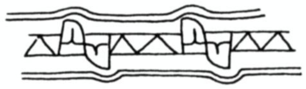


Feature 48 is a conservative secondary-figure nose form in that it is defined by a swirl. The lines have, however, become double.



49

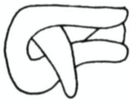
Feature 49 is a main-figure mouth form which, being primary, is outlined twice to show its importance. Note the points that appear above the base of the blunt canines on either side of the lip line.



50

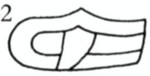
Feature 50 is a continuous mouth band associated with a major figure. The lip curls in a rounded fashion above the tips of the canines. The teeth are represented in saw-fashion.

51



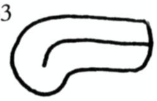
Feature 51 is a subsidiary-figure mouth which is curved downward. A single canine projects from the upper lip, like earlier agnathic mouths, but here the lower jaw is indicated.

52



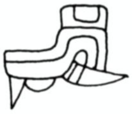
Feature 52 is a subsidiary-figure mouth type. As all subsidiary forms are simplifications of major forms, this one is patterned after Feature 49 in the points above the base of the canines but lacks a double line.

53



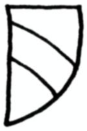
Feature 53 is a subsidiary-figure mouth form which bends downward and is characterized by no externally indicated teeth.

54

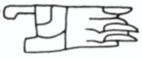


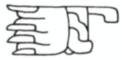
Feature 54 is a subsidiary-figure agnathic mouth and is distinguished by the line that runs down the middle of the lip. The canine projects outward and does not follow the lip line to form a circle as it did in AB specimens.

55

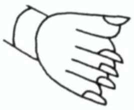


Feature 55 is a canine form associated with the primary-figure mouths already discussed. It has line modifications of varying patterns on its interior. It is broad and blunt. The line in front curves, while the back-line is straight.

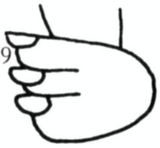
56 

57 

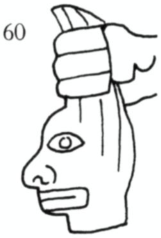
Feature 56 is a primary-figure extremity. It can function as either a foot or a hand depending on orientation. The fingers are elongated, as are the fingernails. The latter, however, project straight forward and do not curve. The formerly plain bracelet becomes a simple twined snake. Feature 57, a foot, differs only in being shorter.

58 

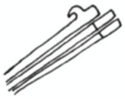
Feature 58 is a secondary-figure hand form. Note the realistic rendering with all five digits present. Note also how the hand increases in width as the tips of the fingers are approached.

59 

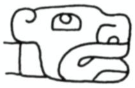
Feature 59 is a secondary-figure foot form. Here again the shape is a "U" spreading apart toward the tips. The number of toes may be variously reduced.

60 

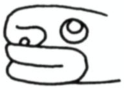
Feature 60 indicates the first iconographic evidence of the existence of the trophy-head cult. Small severed heads are carried in the hand of mythical or non-mythical human figures.

61 

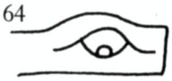
Feature 61 depicts the first appearance of weapons, more specifically, atlatl and darts. As above, this feature appears in the hand of a human figure.

62 

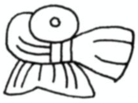
Feature 62 is an elaborate version of the collared cat-snake. The bulbous quality of the mouth and nose is characteristic.

63 

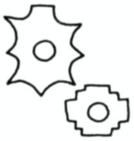
Feature 63 is a subsidiary-figure simple snake-head variant. Note that all the anatomical features are separate.

64 

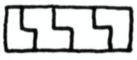
Feature 64 marks the first appearance of the exceedingly simplified snake head in the Chavín sequence. The mouth becomes the extension of the eyebrow line, disappearing as a separate element, and the nose is omitted.

65 

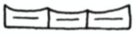
Feature 65 is an elaborate hair arrangement. The hair is indicated by vertical lines and is piled up.

66 

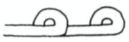
Feature 66 is an abstract, geometric, decorative motif, developed out of the pelage markings of AB Feature 22 by the addition of a central hole. Apparently, they are no longer exclusively pelt markings since they can appear independently.

67 

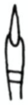
Feature 67 is an angular fret motif that has developed out of Feature 21 by the loss of the interstitial spaces.

68 

Feature 68 is a stylized spinal column that appears to be bifurcated by a straight line.

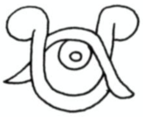
69 

Feature 69 is a decorative motif/filler figure which consists of a series of rays with recurved tips. The shank is not exceedingly long in relation to the curl. There is a space where the tip recurves.

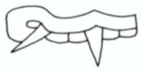
70 

Feature 70 is a peculiar finger-ray that appears as part of a secondary figure.

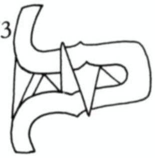
PERIOD C-D

71 

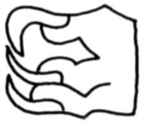
Feature 71 is a primary-figure eye form. While the eyebrow element is derived from earlier prototypes, differing in that it has two projections, the earlier simple lower line has become a projection extending above the eye proper.

72 

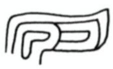
Feature 72 is a main-figure continuing mouth band. It differs from the earlier Feature 14 in having another canine interrupt the smaller rounded teeth.

73 

Feature 73 is a primary-figure mouth form. Note the lips projecting at right angles to the mouth and the conservative points in the lip above the bases of the canines.

74 

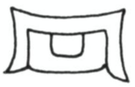
Feature 74 is a human-like hand where, however, talons have replaced fingernails to give a zoomorphic effect.

75 

Feature 75 evolves out of Feature 20. Here the scales, instead of continuing in a straight line, form a right angle, indicating an increase in complexity and plasticity.

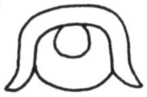
PERIOD D

76



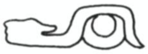
Feature 76 is essentially Feature 7 with the addition of a correspondingly rectangular frame that has its origins in the earlier eyebrow projection. It is one of the most diagnostic features of this period.

77



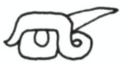
Feature 77 is, like the one above, a main-figure eye form. By a process similar to the one above, it is formed by adding a bi-projecting eyebrow element to an old form, in this case Feature 5.

78



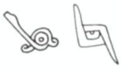
Feature 78 takes Feature 76 and, in a conservative fashion, makes the rear eyebrow projection end in a snake head à la Period AB. It is a primary-figure form.

79



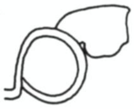
Feature 79, also a primary-figure form, takes a modification of 78 and adds a projecting tooth above the eye. Notice that while the rear projection has lost its snake head it is still elongated.

80



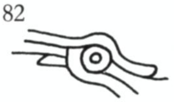
Feature 80 retains a conservative projection ending in a snake head and combines it with the lower element of Feature 71 to create an upward projection in the back only. Sometimes the rear projection is plain.

81



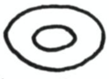
Feature 81, a primary-figure eye form like the above, is merely a variant of 80. The only distinguishing feature is that this one is without a pupil.

82



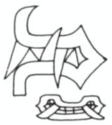
Feature 82 is a primary-figure eye that elaborates the principles of Feature 80, retaining the round eye form with the centrally located round pupil.

83



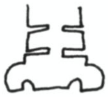
Feature 83, a main-figure eye form, is a development of Feature 43. While it is still basically a football shape, the end points have become rounded. The pupil is stretched out from a circle.

84



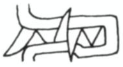
Feature 84, a main-figure mouth form, is simply Feature 73 with the addition of decorative corner points, a diagnostic trait of this period, as Rowe has indicated. Note that it has also lost the points above the base of the canines that Feature 73 possessed.

85



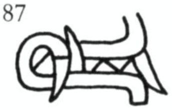
Feature 85 is a nose form that has notches on the upper section, originally indicating wrinkles.

86



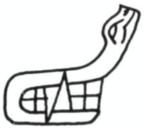
Feature 86 is a main-figure mouth analogous to Feature 84, but without the decorative point. The mouth line curves downward.

87



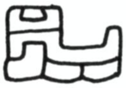
Feature 87 is a primary-figure mouth type with the mouth line curving upward in this case. In other examples, the mouth can go downwards, the important trait being the continuation of the lip into the canine.

88



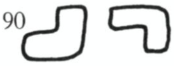
Feature 88 is a primary-figure mouth type with the upper lip extending to form a serpent. In other cases, the lower lip is the one to become transformed.

89



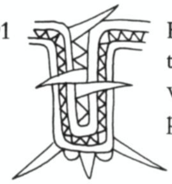
Feature 89 is a subsidiary filler element similar to Feature 54. Note, however, that it is much more rectangularized, the canine becoming an "L."

90



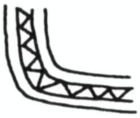
Feature 90 is the typical canine form for this period. It is blunt and bent in a right angle like an "L." The device was adopted to make the once-projecting canine compatible with the increasing rectangularization of Period D portrayals.

91



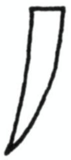
Feature 91 is a main-figure mouth form that is an elaboration of Feature 73. The width of the lip band decreases in comparison with earlier examples.

92

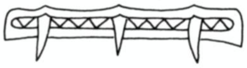


Feature 92 shows how the decreasing lip-band width, coupled with teeth depicted in a saw pattern, becomes ever longer in a narrow decorative band.

93



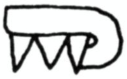
Feature 93 is the canine depiction at the opposite extreme from the L-shaped canine. Here the canine becomes very long and rapier-like in comparison with earlier short ones, as in Feature 19.



94

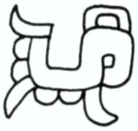
Feature 94 is a continuing mouth band. It has the conservative trait of twin points above the base of the canine with Feature 92 teeth depiction. Its general outline is reminiscent of a bat-wing.

95



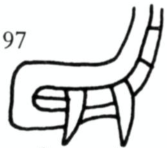
Feature 95 is a subsidiary-figure mouth form. Its upper lip has multiple short fangs descending from it. The mouth itself is agnathic.

96



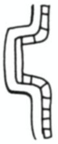
Feature 96 is a subsidiary-figure mouth form similar in function to Feature 54. What differentiates it is that the teeth have now begun to climb the lip line as it bends upward.

97



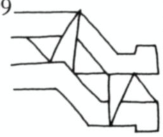
Feature 97 is a subsidiary mouth type which demonstrates the same pattern of the teeth following up the front, but here this tendency includes only the smaller teeth.

98



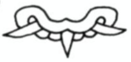
Feature 98 continues the tendencies of Feature 97 to the exclusion of all canines in an abstract pattern. It functions as a decorative device.

99



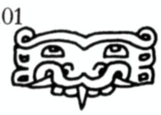
Feature 99 is a continuous mouth band. Note the loss of both the points above the canines and the curl of the lip around their tips as the lip becomes very rectangular and straight.

100



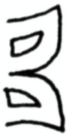
Feature 100 is a subsidiary-figure front-view agnathic mouth that differs from earlier examples in the degree to which it has been compressed and hence widened.

101



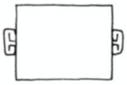
Feature 101 is a subsidiary filler head that often takes the place of earlier plain anklets. It has a characteristic double-ended bar element over the brow.

102



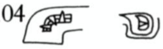
Feature 102 depicts the ear as portrayed in certain instances in Period D. It has been divided into two parts with similarly shaped internal elements.

103



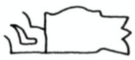
Feature 103 is the primary-figure head shape that is a transparent rectangle if the facial features are taken out.

104



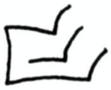
Feature 104 represents the above-the-nose fold of skin that in earlier periods had been plain but is now elaborated by a central inclusion.

105



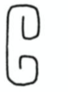
Feature 105 shows how, as the lip was made to end in a snake head, the above-the-nose fold does also.

106



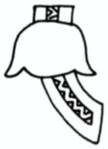
Feature 106 is an above-the-nose fold that is not very elaborate but which does hang out over the nose rather than line up with it as had been the case earlier.

107



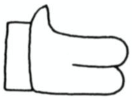
Feature 107 is a major-figure ear form in which both ends curl inward, but where the back line remains straight.

108



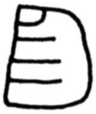
Feature 108 is an example of how the increasing tendency to fill all spaces manifests itself in filling in a "hawk marking" just as the above-the-nose fold was filled in.

109



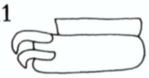
Feature 109 is a main-figure hand. It is rectangular in general form and the fingers have been reduced.

110



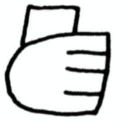
Feature 110 is also a main-figure hand, but in this case more fingers are indicated than above, but the number still is not anatomically correct. Note that a nail is indicated on only one digit.

111



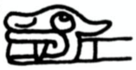
Feature 111 is the foot form of a main figure. The whole appearance shows a flattening and consequent horizontal stretching.

112



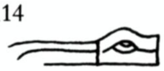
Feature 112 is a main-figure foot type. Again note that the toes are reduced with no indication of nails. The toes are delineated with a single line.

113



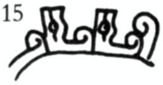
Feature 113 is a collared cat-snake. It is distinguished by an ear that projects straight backwards.

114



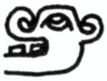
Feature 114 is a variant of the simple snake. There is a rib that extends through the middle of the body terminating in a perpendicular line behind the neck.

115



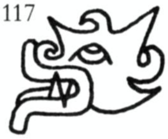
Feature 115 shows how the ultra-simplified version of the snake tends to be used in great profusion on a main figure; here it is combined with recurved rays as a bordering fringe.

116



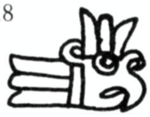
Feature 116 is a characteristic subsidiary head of a double-ended snake with a curl on either end of the rectangular head. The teeth are broken down into separate rectangles.

117



Feature 117 is a subsidiary filler head distinguished by the elaborate treatment of the head that ends in a number of prongs.

118

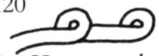


Feature 118 is a small subsidiary "hammer-headed falcon" characterized by two identical projections from the head at right angles to each other.

119

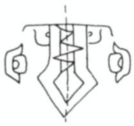
Feature 119 is an abstract zigzag design that is used as a filler element.

120



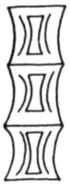
Feature 120 is made up of the same stacked rays with recurved tips as Feature 69. However, here the stems become more plastic in the directions in which they bend as they become longer.

121



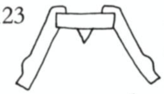
Feature 121 depicts a common device that is termed here the "flayed-pelt convention" where the subject is visually laid out on a flat surface as if it had been cut by a line running down the middle and both halves splayed out.

122



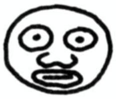
Feature 122 is the stylized spinal column represented in Feature 68 with the difference that here the other half is indicated. The details of the interior fill are variable, but generally the lines inside are parallel with the outer edges.

123



Feature 123 is the usual dress of mythical and non-mythical humans in later Chavín art, consisting of a G-string with paired serpent appendages. (It continues into Moche iconography.) It replaces the earlier pleated skirt seen as Feature 39.

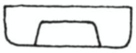
124



Feature 124 is a small front-view circular head that is generally found in a subsidiary position in a central part of the main figure.

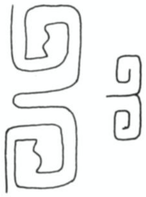
PERIOD EF

125

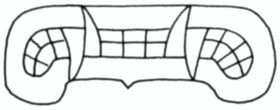


Feature 125 is a subsidiary eye form that continues the same type as Feature 7 to the logical extreme of flattening and rectangularization. The top and bottom are now completely straight, the corners sharp.

126



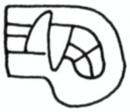
Feature 126 is a primary-figure ear form. The first, being on a more important piece, is elaborated over the second, which instead of having intertwined snakes merely has lines. The ear differs from Feature 107 in that the rear line extends through the middle of the ear, cutting it in half.



127

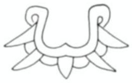
Feature 127 is a primary-figure mouth type viewed from the front and in profile. The smaller teeth are indicated by intersecting lines at right angles to each other, thus producing teeth that are little squares. The corners of the mouth turn down. The canines do not project beyond the lip line.

128



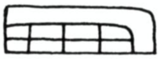
Feature 128 is the same primary-figure mouth seen in profile.

129



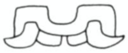
Feature 129 is a front-view agnathic mouth that differs from Feature 100 in having an extra set of canines projecting from the top.

130



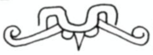
Feature 130 presents a difficulty. Due to differences in the depictions in the literature of the Raimondi Stela, from which this was taken, this subsidiary/filler mouth may or may not be agnathic. If not, the lower jaw is like the top. The teeth are square.

131



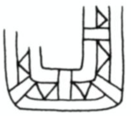
Feature 131 is a front-view agnathic mouth which may possess a central fang. Note the rectangular quality of the lip line.

132



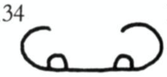
Feature 132 is a front-view agnathic subsidiary mouth like the one above, only in this feature the corner canines are transformed into rays with recurved tips.

133



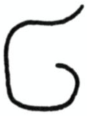
Feature 133 is a continuous mouth band. The salient feature here is that the canines have themselves been reduced to rectangles ending in a flat tip.

134



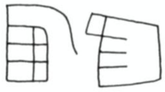
Feature 134 is a front-view nose characterized by extreme flattening and consequent widening.

135



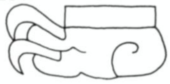
Feature 135 is a profile main-figure nose. Note how the entire nose could easily be encompassed within a rectangle and how the nostril has been lost through simplification.

136



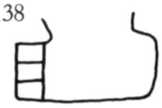
Feature 136 consists of main-figure hand types. Again, the rectangularity is evident. The fingers are indicated only by straight lines.

137



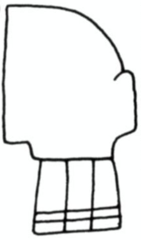
Feature 137 is a main-figure foot type that differs from Feature 111 by the addition of a swirl indicating the heel.

138



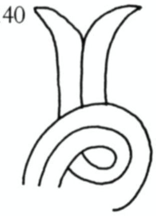
Feature 138 is a primary-figure foot type. The heel has now become a complete rectangle, the toes are indicated only with straight single lines and are reduced in number.

139



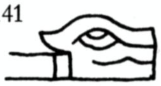
Feature 139 indicates stylized blood gushing from the severed neck of a trophy head. The streams are represented by straight bars whose square tips are separated from the body by a horizontal line.

140



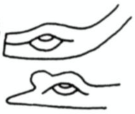
Feature 140 is a convention for the depiction of hair elements analogous to those above, but differentiated from them by having pointed rather than blunt or rectangular tips. The strands of hair are looped in this case.

141



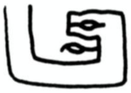
Feature 141 is a collared cat-snake of a type later than but similar to Feature 113. Notice, however, that the face has taken on the characteristics of simple snake portrayal, including the eyebrow line forming a nose.

142



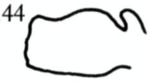
Feature 142 is the last variant of the simple snake. This includes the appearance of a form with a pointed snout.

143



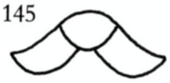
Feature 143 shows how the simple snake is intertwined to form a nested pattern.

144



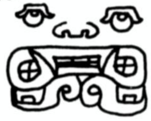
Feature 144 is a method of drawing a naturalistic cat head in profile that treats the ear as a forward-pointing element, convex in its outer line and concave on the inside.

145



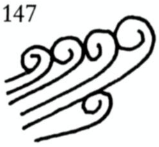
Feature 145 is a double-winged eye that developed out of a Feature 3 eye form by the thickening of the upper line and the reduction of the eye in the center to a single line. It is a primary-figure element.

146



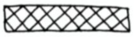
Feature 146 is a method of using a single mouth as a shared element between two sets of eyes and noses, thus creating two different faces, one right-side up and the other upside-down.

147



Feature 147 is the ray element with recurved tip familiar from Feature 120. The stem now becomes longer in relation to the curl, which is used with greater frequency, and the hole where the tip recurves is absent.

148



Feature 148 is a cross-hatched decorative-element panel.

Explanation of the Seriation Charts

THE FULL DISTRIBUTION of the various features on works illustrated in the literature is depicted here. The numbers that were assigned in the feature lists are ranged along the horizontal axis in order of their appearance. The Phases in the Rowe chronology are then indicated above the horizontal axis, with their divisions marked by a thick vertical line. The specimens themselves, represented by the citations in the literature in which they are illustrated, are ranged along the vertical axis in the order of their presumed antiquity. To the left of this category is a space marked with an "M" which stands for media. In it a notation indicates the material in which the figures appeared, and something about the manner of execution. The notation consists of letters which have the following correspondences:

WT = Woven Textile
M = Metallurgy
S = Carved or Incised Stone
G = Carved or Incised Gourd
SH = Carved or Incised Shell
W = Carved or Incised Wood
B = Carved or Incised Bone
C = Carved or Incised Ceramics
MC = Modeled Clay
PC = Painted Ceramics
PT = Painted Textile
WP = Wall Painting

To the left of this column are the figure numbers in this paper. To the right of the figure category is listed a synoptic estimate of the relative dating of the figure. Chart I depicts all of the original sample for the seriation, primarily the material from Chavín de Huantar, the nearby smaller Puchka River Basin sites, and Yauya. Chart II shows the various extensions of the system such as the published sculpture from La Copa, Cerro Sechín, Pacopampa, the wall-paintings from Catache, etc. Some areas or sites have numerous illustrations of works attributed to them. When there is good evidence that all such works were contemporary, as is the case with the reliefs at Cerro Sechín, they will be represented as a single, composite entry. Often it is not easy to make such a determination, especially in the case of rock-paintings which offer no sound associational data and which could have been added to over an extended period of time. Monte Calvario seems stylistically uniform but is given individual entries as a conservative solution.

To aid in reference, the more famous and therefore more familiar pieces and those which are particularly crucial to this discussion are given a special number which is inserted after the synoptic phase designation. In order of antiquity these are:

1. The Lanzón (Tello 1960: Fig. 30)
2. The Pennsylvania Mortar (Tello 1960: Fig. 128)
3. The Tello Obelisk (Tello 1960: Fig. 31)
4. The Lintel of the Jaguars (Rowe 1967: Fig. 19)
5. The Yauya Stela (Rowe 1962: Fig. 31)
6. The Columns of the Black-and-White Portal (Rowe 1962: Figs. 9 and 10)
7. The Head-Bearer (Tello 1960: Fig. 81)

The Phases

PHASE AB

THE EARLIEST PHASE in Chavín art is by far the easiest to seriate. Most of the known examples represent a tight-knit unity. For example, the mouth on the isolated cat figure (Rowe 1962: Cover) is identical to the one on the bird-cat guardians (Fig. 1a and b). At first I was skeptical of Rowe's statement (1967:84) that the mouth on the Lanzón was possibly originally agnathic and the lower jaw a later addition. After comparing it to the mouths of the tenoned heads of this period and realizing the general preference for the agnathic-mouth type at this time, I was convinced of the plausibility of the interpretation. Perhaps the present mouth was added to the Great Image when the rectangular framed wall plaque of the "Smiling God" was executed in Period D (Lumbreras 1967:53; see also Chart V). If so, the process of emulation was not all one-way, for a close modeling of the later image on the earlier would go a long way toward explaining a number of curiously conservative elements on the Phase D piece.

My main interest here is in the human figure, although there is little to work with in this phase. It seems as though non-human animals were more important in this phase than in any of the following, since most of the representations are of natural forms without the admixture of human traits. The only usable exception to this statement is the Lanzón itself. However, to use it to extrapolate directly to less transformed and less sacred human depictions is dangerous. Therefore, in Chart IV it has been separated from the example of more naturalistic human extremities. Nevertheless, it is possible to make some qualified observations. In keeping with the general cursive character of line in this phase, the hands are rounded and naturalistic. Very long fingernails are added, but it should be pointed out that they are not claws. The bracelet is unadorned. The feet are long and the heels are distinctly rounded. The number of fingers and toes is complete and anatomically correct. All of these characteristics are important for an understanding of later non-mythical human depictions.

Regarding the snake motif, the two defined types are present. The collared cat-snake may be observed behind the leg of the Great Image (Tello 1960: Fig. 30). Above, on the spire of the statue, there is another variant of the same type, this form having an equally curled nose and ear. Another variant has a double set of ear- and eyebrow-extension curls and possesses the pelt markings of a cat; it can be seen on the carved lintel of the southwest corner along with the cat already cited (Kauffmann Doig 1971: Fig. 263). The simple snake is also present and equally well developed. At this end of the stylistic continuum, the form has a full complement of features, including a nose drawn separately with the nostril sitting on top of the line. While the simple snake is present, the point to note in this phase is the importance of the collared cat-snake, occurring as it does on quite a few specimens.

Concomitant with the naturalistic tendencies of AB art is its transparent structure. A form may be elaborated (as in Fig. 1a and b), but all detail is encompassed within the outlines of the subject and subordinated to it.

Yet another general characteristic of this phase is the degree to which all lines tend to be curved and the manner in which smaller filler elements and subsidiary figures conform to circles (see the swirl heads on Rowe 1962: Cover, Feature 16, or the agnathic mouth on the Pennsylvania mortar in Tello 1960: Fig. 128).

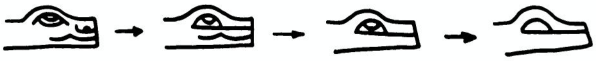
PHASE C

It is clear that this phase is a transitional one, Rowe himself admitting that, "only a few other fragments of sculpture can be assigned to this phase" (1967:76). Now, however, the sample can be increased, and it no longer seems possible to question the validity of the phase on the basis of small sample size. A glance at Charts III, IV, and V demonstrates that, to paraphrase Voltaire, if the Tello Obelisk did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it. This is particularly evident in the case of the evolution of the mouth in Chavín art (see Chart V). It would be impossible to have generated the points above the base of the canines on later mouths without the example of the Tello Obelisk.

It is in the area of the human figure, however, that the crucial character of this piece is demonstrated. The hand forms that occur on both the mythical and non-mythical humans that function as subsidiary figures on the body of the cayman (see Fig. 2a–c) are fully derivable from those on the Lanzón. The mythical characters have similar hands, but have feet bearing a reduced number of toes. Chief differences between these figures and the Lanzón are a shortening of the length of the fingernails and a ⊂ hand-shape that widens perceptibly toward the fingertips. The feet undergo a similar process although, as mentioned, the toes are reduced, usually to three. Identical hands appear on a monkey (Fig. 4a; Ayers 1961) which can be placed in this period. The monkey has a new eye type (Feature 43), characteristic of this phase, which will continue nearly to the end of the style, with later derivations. The slight difference in foot form undoubtedly stems from the simian character of the principal figure here. The evidence from the associated snake heads is consistent with this ascription. A stone mortar is now dated to this phase on the evidence of the figure's elaborate coiffure (Fig. 3a) which also appears on the humanlike figures of the Tello Obelisk (Fig. 2b). The presence of the constellation of disembodied eyes (Feature 45)—another feature shared with the Tello—the mouth style, and the hands, which are of C type, all confirm the dating. This dating is significant to our purposes, for on the other side of the mortar (Fig. 3b) there appears a fragment of a hand in the lower left corner. This hand is also within the C style and is grasping a staff. This association, in turn, lends supporting evidence to the C dating of Figures 4b and c, independent of the obvious similarities in mouth type, etc. They also bear similar elements which, following Rowe, will be designated atlatls and darts. Not only does this association support the occurrence of Feature 43 eye forms in this period, but it dates the first appearance of warriors and the trophy-head cult in Chavín art as well. Needless to say, we must now question whether or not the trophy-head cult was a non-Chavinoid trait as has been claimed by Sawyer (1966:87).

There are "mythical" figures which also share many stylistic traits with normally depicted human beings. One such figure is shown in Figure 5. It has the Feature 43 eye form associated with a conservative mouth form and a hand form which can be directly compared to the figures from the Tello Obelisk (see Fig. 2c).

Period C is also highly significant for the evolution of the snake motif. The later variety of the simple snake appears here for the first time. The mouth becomes an extension of the eyebrow line and the nose is omitted. This is a logical result of the economy of effort any artist adopts when faced with duplicating an element as ubiquitous as the snake head. As an *a priori* experiment before this seriation was started, the following sketch was made of the steps one might have gone through in that context. Perhaps it is relevant to reproduce it here:



Indeed, most of these steps will be found in Chavín art, and in precisely this order of occurrence. The older variety of the simple snake, however, still survived, sometimes even on the other end of a staff from its simplified cousin (see Fig. 4a). Yet another variant of the simple snake appears on the Tello Obelisk (Feature 63). This elaboration did not continue; it probably represents a process of elaboration parallel to what was happening with the collared cat-snakes in this period (see Feature 62). The latter were transformed to the degree that they resemble cats more than snakes.

C-D TRANSITION

Though this discussion is based on the stylistic features of only one piece, the Lintel of the Jaguars (Fig. 9), this point in the continuum will be treated as a sub-unit, to show some important trends connecting Phases C and D. It could just as easily have been considered terminal C or initial D. If the fragment illustrated by Tello (1960: Fig. 68) is not part of the same sculpture pictured by Rowe (1967: Fig. 19)— and one has difficulty in deciding from Tello's illustration—it is a contemporary piece differing from the one Rowe illustrates in about the same degree as the columns of the Black-and-White Portal differ from each other, one being essentially an elaboration of the other within the same stylistic period. At any rate, Figure 9 represents a nearly perfect mid-point in the sequence. There are as many correspondences to the AB end as to the EF extreme in this work. The behind-the-neck profile agnathic mouth is only modified from the very early AB type by the addition of a central fang. The little swirl-faces are replicas of the body swirl-faces on the AB Lintel of the Jaguar from the southwest corner of the temple. In the opposite direction, the eye form is the perfect precursor of the characteristic D eye form (see Chart III) and the mouth is the perfect intermediary between the mouth with points above the base of the canine, occurring in C, and the decorative corner point of D.

PHASE D

Phase D appears to be very important in the evolution of the Chavín style. Not only does it reach a new level of elaboration with individual components often being more "baroque" than their counterparts in the succeeding EF Phase, which is often considered the height of complexity, but also, to judge from the vast number of works that can be attributed to this phase, it was the most expansive period of the cultural system supporting the art form.

A new formal device, applied to the whole figure, makes its appearance in this phase. For the sake of graphic description, it will be designated here as the "flayed-pelt convention" or, alternatively, as "split representation," following Claude Lévi-Strauss (1967: 245 ff.). The entire animal, in order to be depicted on a flat surface, is divided by an imaginary line down the center and split out so that mirror-images are created by the two sides. By the use of this convention, both sides of the whole figure can be seen at once even though it is depicted on a two-dimensional surface. The effect of this symmetry generated through reflection is much the same as that attained in Shang and Chou art in the T'ao T'ieh mask, and in Northwest Coast art of North America. When coupled with an increasing profusion of detail this procedure tends to fragment the psychological impact of the design. As an illustration of this process, one may compare the classically D, Ica painted textile (Fig. 19) with its AB counterpart (Fig. 1a and b). Both representations belong to the cat-bird guardian-angel type with the characteristic four wing units. In contrast to the "transparency" already alluded to for the AB end of the spectrum, the D example is barely recognizable! The profusion of detail has destroyed the previous clarity of the design so that it is not understandable without recourse to its predecessor. One reason for this visual confusion is that the head has been split in two and laid out so that it shares a common mouth. While the creature represented is the same as in Figure 1a and b, a front-facing cat/bird, the effect is totally different. Quite appropriately, the behind-the-neck profile agnathic face, as it appeared in the AB examples, also changes according to the same convention so that it now becomes a full-front agnathic face. The wing units on the D specimen are kenned as snakes and are pushed down so that they even sprout from the legs, while the tail-feather assemblage is replaced by a face in precisely the same position. But, even where substitution occurs between different parts, the same structural divisions persist.

The Yauya Stela is a classic example of the "flayed-pelt convention" (Fig. 11). It is a cayman similar to the Tello Obelisk in most respects. Whereas the Tello Obelisk presented two profile views that must be viewed separately and cannot be joined, the Yauya was split open medially and laid out flat so that it, like the guardian figure from Ica, shares a common mouth.

The Yauya Stela is a very interesting monument which has been dated here as early Phase D. It is transitional in much the same sense as the Lintel of the Jaguars is, but demonstrably later. The piece is very complex and mirrors the forces of compression that Chavín art was undergoing in this and the succeeding phases. It carries over such conservative elements as the guilloche and the main-figure eyebrow extension ending in a snake head. It also exhibits, however, a far greater number of Phase D traits. One such trait is the eye to which the conservative eyebrow extension was attached, a perfect Phase D form. The mouth bands that traverse the animal's body at four points are analogous to the "bat-wing" mouth bands held in the hands of the figures on the Black-and-White Portal columns. The only difference between the mouth bands of the specimens just cited and those of the Yauya is that the Black-and-White Portal examples are more extreme in respect to curvature and the presence of definite points. The line of continuous saw-teeth inside the lip line (Feature 92) can be duplicated from some of the Phase D profile birds on the cornice associated with the Black-and-White Portal. In addition, the presence of the little profile subsidiary face, presented here as Feature 89, with the characteristic Phase D L-shaped blunt canines, marks the Yauya Stela as Phase D.

This discussion of the Yauya Stela brings up the problem of the divinity which Carrión Cachot has quite appropriately called the "felinic dragon," here designated, following Rowe, as the cayman figure. The cayman shares traits with the feline and, as far as the Chavín artist was concerned, undoubtedly partook of its essence. The fact that the sculptor went to the trouble to portray it, using canons different from those applied to the feline, and that it appears only in Phases C and D (that is, differentiated not only by convention but by chronology), indicate that on at least one level it was conceptually separate from the feline. No more graphic illustration of this separation can be given than Rojas Ponce's reconstruction (Carrión Cachot 1948: Pl. XVIe and f) of what were actually portrayals of the cayman. By pinning incongruous-looking feline tails to their hind sections, he produced a result so distressing that it discounts the possibility that the original depictions were meant to represent cats.

As mentioned above, the elaborate designs of Chavín art can often be understood best by reference to relatively realistic examples meant to represent the same concept. In this connection the Pallka cayman from the Casma Valley (Fig. 7e) provides the perfect model of which the Tello Obelisk, the Yauya Stela, the Lintel of the Jaguars, and Figure 17 are all elaborations. Among the conventions that differentiate the cayman from the feline, the most obvious is the manner in which the legs are shown. Both front and rear legs are invariably bent on a plane parallel with the body rather than straight down, perpendicular to the body, as in a cat drawing. No doubt, this manner of depiction was meant to reflect both the much lower posture of the reptile and its characteristic mode of progression. Furthermore, there is a stylized spinal column, portrayed X-ray fashion as in Australian aborigine art, running down the middle of the body toward the tail that, when preserved, is straight and not feline-like.

One of the recently discovered painted fabrics from Ica, also attributable to Phase D, shows how far stylization could remove a depiction from its original naturalistic model. If the Yauya Stela (Fig. 11) is a derived Tello Obelisk, then in terms of representation, the Ica piece (Fig. 12) is a derived Yauya Stela/Lintel of the Jaguars. Following the pattern of omission in these fabrics, which will be discussed more fully later, the cayman's legs are deleted but the result is still split open, pelt-like. All the other requirements for a cayman portrayal, such as the spinal column and back-crests, are present.

But if the cayman was differentiated from the feline, what about the persistent association of a fish element which Tello (1923: Pl. 2) originally recognized in the Yauya Stela? Rowe has, quite rightly, stressed the cayman nature of such works: "There is only one animal figure which is represented in Chavin art in such a way as to suggest that it might be a deity or important mythological figure, and that is the alligator, or more properly cayman, which is represented on the so-called 'Tello Obelisk' " (1967:82). He theorized, however, that the appearance of a fish tail on the Tello Obelisk might have been a mistaken association: "this mythical detail may be no more than a misunderstanding on the part of artists who were not personally familiar with their subjects, caymans occurring only at a much lower altitude" (Rowe 1967:83). While this guess is not incompatible with what we know about the kind of misunderstandings that can arise when artists are unfamiliar with their subject—witness the early attempts of European artists to draw the elephant or rhinoceros—it can now be shown that the appearance of a fish tail on the Tello cayman was not the result of a misunderstanding. This statement is based on the performance of the artist of Pallka who managed to portray a cayman quite accurately with a reptilian tail (Fig. 7e). Since I have heard of no case where the cayman was indigenous to the North Central Coast, this artist was about as familiar with a cayman as an artist of Chavín de Huantar, or even less so, considering the greater distance from the selva. Hence, the fish element was a conceptually significant component of the mythical cayman as represented at Chavín de Huantar since it was deliberately affixed. This mixture of biological traits does not demean the abilities of the native taxonomist. It is not difficult to imagine that, because of its way of life and appearance, the cayman should have been shown with both feline and fish attributes while remaining an entity separate from either.

To follow one of the main themes of this study, the continuing evolution of the human figure, one should turn to the relief of the "Smiling God" (Lumbreras 1967:53). Though certainly executed in D, it shares many affinities with the Lanzón. It even retains the very conservative variant of the simple snake complete with indicated nostril (Feature 33). However, several important things have happened. For one thing, the image has borrowed a filler and/or subsidiary eye form that goes all the way back to Phase AB (Feature 7, consult Chart III). It differs from the earlier ancestor in being more rectangular while it carries on the Phase C tendency for the top line to be concave. Simplification of the hand and foot continues. The number of fingers is reduced to two, as are the toes (or talons in this case). The shape of the head is very important for comparative purposes. By mentally blocking out the features, hair, and ears, one perceives that the head has become a perfect rectangle. This modification is in keeping with the increasing trend toward rectangularity in the style as a whole. This same block-like head shape appears in the obelisk from Gotush (Fig. 23) and in the depictions at Monte Calvario (Figs. 25a and b, 26).

There are two very important pieces showing non-mythical figures that can be assigned to this phase, even though they have strong resemblances to, and are demonstrably derived from, Phase C in such traits as the stockiness of the extremities, the wide-lipped mouth, and the C-derived eye (see Feature 83). In the first example (Fig. 28a; Tello 1960: Fig. 80), the C -shaped foot remains, but the shape of the toes has been further simplified by leaving out the nails. The hands can be enclosed in an imaginary box without violating their contours, so great is the rectangularity. The unfortunately fragmentary remains of a human figure (Fig. 28c) appear in the upper register of one of the textiles from Ica (Fig. 17). When it is compared with the other examples of the human form belonging to this phase (Fig. 28a), it is clear that the appearance of the figure is compatible with the date assigned to the textile on which it appears. Both show many Phase D characteristics. The feet of Figure 28c are distinctly squared off, nails are not indicated on the toes, and the heel is represented by a swirl. In the other example (Fig. 28b; Tello 1960: Fig. 82), the foot is modified still more to assume this outline, ⊂, an important diagnostic trait for the period. Nails are likewise removed from the hands, and the toes of the feet are squared. The nose, in both cases, has become more rectangular than its antecedents.

While the elaborate collared cat-snake still remains, as in the above-the-nose fold on the south column of the Black-and-White Portal (Rowe 1962: Fig. 9), the central characteristic of Phase D is the overwhelming frequency of the later variant of the simple snake (Feature 64). In examples like one of the birds of the Black-and-White Portal cornice (Rowe 1962: Fig. 1), the simple snake is stacked alternating with recurved rays in a manner that foreshadows Phase EF. In some cases, such as another of the birds on the cornice (Rowe 1967: Fig. 15), this later variant of the simple snake is the only one pictured accompanying the main figure. Thus begins the temporal trend toward increasing domination by the simple snake.

Another variant of the snake, yielding a clue for the dating of the rare iconographic designs associated with the Mosna ceramics, makes its appearance in Phase D stone sculpture. It is a small subsidiary double-curl-headed snake (Feature 116) found on the columns of the Black-and-White Portal. This element (Fig. 38d) can be traced through a design commonly found on Cupisnique ceramics (Fig. 38b) which is nothing more than a simplified version doubled in reflectional symmetry. In turn, the Cupisnique version of the element, sharing the same rectangular teeth, can be directly related to the painted design on the Mosna bottle (Fig. 38a and c). The Mosna design is a visually ambiguous one in that, by mentally "changing gears," one can see figure as ground and ground as figure, alternatively.

It is both positive and negative. If one focuses on the white ground between the painted lines, making it the point of interest, this negative design appears as a variety of the double-curl-headed snake shown in Figure 38d. The isolated "teeth" appear to have climbed up the brow in the form of little white dots. Being painted, it is more cursive than its stone counterpart, but it is D.

PHASE EF

PHASE EF carries with it the paradox of great organizational complexity accompanied by a simplification of the constituent parts used to construct the complicated designs. The impression that EF is more flamboyant, more intricate, than the preceding D Phase, is derived from a seemingly endless replication of like elements, themselves often simplified versions of their corresponding Phase D counterparts. The coexistence of the two trends, one toward complexity, the other toward simplicity, goes a long way toward explaining the stylistic evolution of the human figure and the serpent.

Phase EF sees the culmination of the tendency toward rectangularity in the portrayal of the human body. This is illustrated by the crucial Figure 81 in Tello (1960), reproduced here as Figure 28e. This figure will henceforth be referred to as the "Head-Bearer." Here the mythical human being bears a Raimondi Stela mouth-type seen in profile. The hands are perfectly rectangular; even the fingernails are reduced to squares. The heel, as well as the entire foot, has become squared off rather than rounded as it was earlier. Tello (1960: Fig. 87; Fig. 28d, this paper) illustrates still another fragment which, if it is what it appears to be, carries the stylistic pressures evident in the Head-Bearer to their logical conclusion, the whole foot becoming an internally undifferentiated rectangle. Other parts of the specimen in Figure 28e show how every component was subjected to the same pressures. The nose, derived from representations of Feature 47, has likewise been pushed in and made square.

Significantly, the simple snake is the only kind pictured on the Raimondi Stela, "type specimen" for the EF Phase. True, there are two variants of the later simple snake on the Raimondi—one with a pointed snout—but both are well within the category as defined. The snake's body becomes longer and longer as it is used in conjunction with simple recurved ray elements, the shanks of which are also appreciably lengthened over their Phase D predecessors. Both elements are stacked as space-fillers in great profusion. The kind of baroque impression this concatenation of intrinsically simple elements can give is well illustrated by another specimen in Tello (1960: Fig. 52). The collared cat-snake is present in Phase EF (*ibid.*: Fig. 69), but it has been simplified to approximate the old variant of the simple snake and appears only very rarely. In summation, the snake is a valuable chronological instrument. If it changes less rapidly than the main figures with which it is associated, nevertheless it reflects the same stylistic trends and occurs more frequently.

A final and, in the comparative context, important figure is the naturalistically rendered feline. The most illuminating piece in this regard is shown in Tello (1960: Fig. 62). It is dated very late in this study, possibly EF. Michael Kan (1972:73–4) has pointed out the possible relationship between this Chavinoid piece and the later sculpture at Aija (see Kauffman Doig 1971: Figs. 545, 546, 548). This Chavín cat manifests the trend toward simplification alluded to above, as well as the curious "double-winged" eye form (Feature 145). This last trait, in addition to the depiction of the ear as projecting forward in a single plane with the profile head (Feature 144), is found on a piece (Tello 1960: Fig. 72) which also has the looped, strand-like hair configuration found on Tello's Figure 81, indicating an EF dating for the appearance of the "double-winged" eye form at Chavín. Associations of this feature elsewhere also tend to support a late date. These include naturalistic felines possessing the characteristic Phase D decorative-point mouth form (Larco Hoyle 1945: Fig. 169), a Tembladera piece illustrated in Kauffman Doig (1971: Fig. 367), and a Tembladera pot, obviously Salinar influenced, illustrated by Kan (1972: Fig. 16A).

Viewed generally, the Phase D–EF continuum is the most difficult to break stylistically. Outside of the Raimondi, individual works are often difficult to place. The wall-plaque bird-guardians illustrated in Tello (1960: Figs. 42, 39, etc.), and correctly reconstructed in Carrión Cachot (1948: Fig. 10) are typical in their intermediate position. Phase EF is marked by an intensification of existing features, rather than by the appearance of many new ones. However, the increasing repetition of simplified detail seems to argue for a kind of "pattern exhaustion" in the Kroeberian sense (1944, 1952), which led, on the one hand, to the simplified depictions of the snake, human figure, and feline, and, on the other, to the visual complexity of the Raimondi Stela. Both extremes show the effects of the same pressures toward rectangularity, simplification, and replication of design-element templates, and indeed were the end products of those same pressures. One gets the impression that the fabric of Chavín art was stretched to the breaking point trying to encompass and realize the contradictions in its canons. It disintegrated, and in the process left its legacy to a host of successor traditions.

Extensions of the System

EXTENDING A SERIATION based on the stone sculpture of Chavín de Huantar entails certain difficulties. There will always be ambiguity in assigning a particular piece from outside the core area of the initial sample. That ambiguity, expressed in a scattered distribution of features, will vary directly with the degree of cultural autonomy shown by the area to be encompassed by the expansion of the seriation. This is obvious, but it should be pointed out that sheer physical distance may not be directly related to such autonomy. For example, the painted Chavín textiles of Ica are so close to Chavín canons that they were certainly either trade pieces or were made by Chavín artists resident in the valley. Ancón also shows Chavín art in a very pure form, while the Casma and Nepeña centers are more divergent. Nevertheless, enough specific parallels remain between the central sequence and those counted as extensions of the system to make the task of cross-dating productive, though challenging.

PACOPAMPA

ALL OF THE CLASSICAL Chavinoid materials from this site are clearly Phase D in the central sequence (see Fig. 24a-d and Chart II). This determination was first made on the basis of the subsidiary head (Feature 89) found on the illustrated Pacopampa mortars (Larco Hoyle 1946: Pl. 65), with its characteristic L-shaped canine. Since then, the recent work of Rosas at the site has greatly increased the sample of Chavín depictions. A number of modeled clay faces of classic D configuration occur on the necks of large urns. These faces show both the decorative point on the mouth corners and the Feature 76 eye form. A small cylinder seal of carved bone also exhibits these same characteristics (Fig. 24c). The famous "Feline of Pacopampa" (Fig. 24a) also shows the decorative point, the tendency for the teeth to extend up the lip line, and the transparently square head shape, all characteristic of Phase D. However, it also manifests some traits which argue for a dating near the end of that period since they are features of Phase EF. The mouth is a squared approximation of the Raimondi mouth type. But the way that the top lip breaks at a right angle to form the base of a canine-like element is a carry-over from the D convention shown in Feature 87. The treatment of the extremities shows an extreme rectangularization that indicates a very late D or early EF dating for this piece.

The Pacopampa naturalistic felines (Fig. 24b; from a photograph of another similar specimen discovered by Rosas), although very eroded and hence difficult to deal with iconographically, do offer a number of possibilities for relative dating, possibilities not inconsistent with what has been said above. Figure 24b, now outside the Larco Herrera Museum in Lima, stands in contrast to conceptually similar early sculpture in the round, like the AB University of Pennsylvania mortar. The early, fully sculptural treatment of the jaguar is proportionately high and narrow, while the Pacopampa jaguar is wide and low, testifying in its proportions to the same pressures of compression and consequent widening illustrated in the Raimondi Stela. The mouth style of the Pacopampa feline can be interpreted as analogous to the D variety mouth with decorative point. It is, therefore, interesting to note that this same mouth type is shared by the Punkurí naturalistic feline, tending to confirm its late date.

KOTOSH

AT PRESENT, there does not seem to be enough iconographic evidence to date securely the Chavín manifestation at the Kotosh site. All that can be done is to present a tentative argument based on certain elements of ceramic form and their associated designs. Unfortunately, while both lines of evidence are consistent with each other, they do not appear together in the same vessel-shape category. This is, however, not a crucial objection here because the stirrup-spout bottle and the open, flat-based bowl, each of which contains certain elements that will be used in the dating argument, occur together in the same Kotosh Kotosh or Chavín Kotosh component at the Kotosh site.

The face pictured here as Figure 20a is incised on a flat, open bowl of Chavín type. It has an eye form (Feature 76) which is a Phase D characteristic everywhere it occurs. Furthermore, this pot is not an isolated example. One of the most common incised design elements on Kotosh Kotosh ceramics is a shorthand version of this same eye type (Fig. 20b). This particular depiction can be directly compared with the eye on the small, typically Phase D tenoned head from Chavín de Huantar pictured here as Figure 20c. There is, in addition, a provocative sherd which was used to reconstruct the vessel figures in Izumi and Sono 1963 as Plate 126, no. 14. This can best be interpreted as precisely the kind of lip with canines sprouting from the entire lip line shown here as Feature 96, a D trait. The design is very similar to examples also from that phase, which are illustrated here as Figure 39e, i–k.

This evidence for a Phase D dating on the basis of the designs agrees with what evidence is available from vessel shape. The stirrup-spout vessels associated with the vessels carrying the designs show a beveled rim modification (Izumi and Sono 1963) that is a more delicate version of that found with precise D association in the Ica Valley (Fig. 40a, b, and c) and late contexts in the Chongoyape finds in Lambayeque. One might even present a thumbnail sketch of the evolution this particular stirrup-spout form, beginning with the rim type found on early, presumably AB, vessels from Chavín de Huantar and Cupisnique forms (Fig. 35a), and going on to vessels with Phase D and later affiliations. Incidentally, one could seriate this kind of rim directly into Moche I with very little difficulty.

While these data are insufficient to date the Chavín component at the Kotosh site to Phase D of the central sequence with absolute certainty, they are at least provocative.

KUNTUR WASI OR LA COPA

KUNTUR WASI APPEARS to be within the same general time range as Pacopampa, although perhaps enduring somewhat longer. The regional peculiarities of this site, particularly its emphasis on sculpture in the round, show that local divergence is now an important factor. Rowe has dated the lintel (Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 17) to Period EF. In addition to the general flamboyance of this sculpture, which might be used to argue for an EF dating, it shows the pattern of a number of saber-like teeth (Phase D) descending from the upper lip, and is analogous to the typical EF mouth type illustrated in Feature 129. The eye form is the counterpart of the D depictions (compare the La Copa examples particularly with Rowe 1967: Fig. 15). A tendency for the teeth to climb up the lip line (Feature 96) is also a Phase D diagnostic trait. The tendency for the canine to become transformed into serpents, probably a late trait, is evident on Carrión Cachot's Plate XX (1948). The squaring of the extremities on the human figure shown on the reverse side of that figure follows precisely the treatment of the feet on Figure 28e and argues for an EF dating. Even more specific than the square rendition of the Raimondi Stela mouth type on the previous specimen is the almost exact copy shown on Carrión Cachot's Plate XXIb (1948). Here again, the feet are almost perfect rectangles, although the hands are treated in a more naturalistic fashion.

In summary, there is a mixed assortment of Phase D and EF features on the Kuntur Wasi sculpture, but with the definite predominance of EF features. This assemblage can best be explained by assigning an EF dating to the site, but with the assumption of some significant Phase D survivals.

MONTE CALVARIO, CATACHE

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED rock paintings and petroglyphs of the Monte Calvario district of Catache, near a small tributary of the Río Chancay, Lambayeque (Mejía Xesspe 1968:17), fit well within the above seriation and conform to the pattern of late Chavín influence in this general area. Although Mejía Xesspe limits himself to observing that the generalized characteristics of the paintings are Chavinoid, and does not assign them to a period of the Rowe chronology, it is relatively easy to make the assignation. Mejía's Figures 1, 10, and 22 (see Figs. 25b, 26, this paper) all have the Phase D mouth characterized by the decorative point added to the corners. Furthermore, the heads of Figures 25b and 26 and Mejía's Figure 1 (1968) are of the same rectangular type as the obelisk from Gotush and the Phase D "Smiling God" portrayal. The Monte Calvario paintings are rather late D as the extreme squaring-off of the feet and heels and the presence of the Staff God indicate. Figure 26 shows a Phase D warrior, very closely linked in spirit to similar representations at Cerro Sechín. Figures 25a and 26 may actually belong to Period EF, to judge from the treatment of the extremities.

LAMBAYEQUE

MOST OF THE NUMEROUS examples of metalwork which have been recovered from the Lambayeque Valley appear also to be of late date, Periods D and EF (Lothrop 1951: Pl. 18b; Rowe 1962: Fig. 27). The Hacienda Almendral finds at Chongoyape, 50 kilometers from the sea, offer an interesting case study. Due caution should be observed in assigning a date to this collection because of the material and method of execution, embossing in this case. Nonetheless, certain features do approximate closely those defined from Chavín. The presence of Feature 132, canines represented by snake rays, links the material to Phase EF (Lothrop 1941: Fig. 26c), while the progression of teeth up the lip suggests a date no earlier than D (Lothrop 1941: Fig. 29a). The specific treatment of the ear, the presence of the mirror-face technique of Feature 146 (two faces sharing the same eye, in this case) makes an EF dating likely (Lothrop 1941: Fig. 26b).

The "Reservoir hoard," also from Lambayeque, is more difficult to date, the only exact resemblance being in the treatment of the ear, Feature 126, an EF diagnostic. Lothrop (1941: Pl. XX; 1951), in his early attempt at the seriation of the two finds, placed the Reservoir hoard after the Hacienda Almendral hoard. The above discussion tends to reinforce his judgment. The fact that few traits could be found to date the Reservoir hoard argues for, not against, the later date. Lothrop (1941: Fig. 28a and b) illustrates two unusual specimens from Lambayeque which have the canine-curl substitution of period EF but which are clearly post-Hacienda Almendral, carrying to the logical extreme the stylization characteristic of period EF. Cross-dating of both groups can be achieved thanks to the near-identity of the ear treatment shown by Lothrop (1941: Figs. 26c, 28b) and the EF lintel from La Copa (Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 17).

From the airfield at Chiclayo, Lambayeque, comes the Pickman strombus (Rowe 1962: Figs. 40, 40a) which Gordon Willey saw as similar to the Cerro Sechín carvings: "The face, seen in profile, is quite similar to the Sechín human figures. The eye has a curved band extending down onto the cheek which is suggestive of, although it does not duplicate, Sechín portrayals. A flowing headdress, extending over the back of the individual, is also like a similar headdress and sash from a Sechín carving. This specimen, more than any other, offers some sort of stylistic link between Chavín and Cerro Sechín (1951:116)." Although we now have works that are much more closely related to the Sechín figures than this strombus, it is, nevertheless, related. The treatment of the feet, though rectangularized, is naturalistic and is linked with the specimen of C date shown by Rowe (1962: Fig. 17). The agnathic faces in the background date the shell to D, as does the girdle. It could be argued that the eye-form is an adaptation of C-phase Features 43 and 44, and the D-phase 83. Since it is suggested that the D form evolved out of its C analogue, this combination also argues for a D dating. On balance, a date early in Phase D is plausible.

Chavín influence also extended into Phase EF in Lambayeque. Figure 34 illustrates one of the specimens which is more akin to Sechín than to the Pickman strombus. It comes from a turquoise vase and has a typical EF mouth configuration (Feature 128). Indeed, it is a representation in which everything seems to work perfectly in the seriational terms of this paper. All traits present are late and consistent with each other. The "simple snake" appears with a figure whose head is completely square in outline (Feature 103). The late double-lobed eye form is also present on subsidiary figures (Feature 145). Even the trophy head held by streaming hair with stylized blood falling from its severed neck is identical in concept to Sechín portrayals (see Fig. 29d), and cross-dates with the very similar EF sculpture shown here as Figure 28e. In the case of Figure 34, however, an extremely interesting manipulation of the trophy-head motif exists. Note that the hand of the main figure clutches the upright hair elements of a head more feline in character than human. In this case, the blood falling downwards is represented by the hair hanging from an inverted human trophy head smaller than the first. This piece, along with Figure 28e, is one of the key works for understanding later Chavín and Chavinoid art.

ALTO DE LA GUITARRA

The Alto de la Guitarra site between the Virú and Moche Valleys has yielded a petroglyph much more similar to the Sechín carvings than is the Pickman strombus (Fig. 27; Disselhoff and Linné 1960: Fig. 58). It shows confronting warriors with shields comparable to the shield on the already-cited petroglyph at Catache and to the Sechín depictions. The squareness of the head and modified Feature 83 eye form argue for a Phase D ascription.

CHICAMA AND THE NORTH COAST

This is not the place to examine the seriation of Cupisnique vessel shapes in the Chicama Valley. It is sufficient to point out that the evolution of the pottery in the Chicama Valley closely parallels the seriation set up by Lumbreras (1970:138–9) in most essential details. In Chicama the trends evident in the vessel shapes are consistent with the stylistic evolution of the designs represented on the pots, as was the case at Chavín de Huantar. Accordingly, I have illustrated several stages in the evolution of the stirrup spout, together with the designs that appear on them, to make the general point that there is a correspondence (Figs. 35a–f and 36a–d).

While very few designs on the earlier vessels can be related directly to the Rowe seriation, the style of stirrup-spout vessels shown in Rafael Larco Hoyle (1941: Fig. 47) and in Figure 39f have depictions that are amenable to comparison. These vessels, with a triangular void described by the stirrup and with a peculiar rim and lip treatment, are directly comparable to the Mosna group at Chavín de Huantar. On the basis of iconographic elements Mosna can be dated to Phase D, as has already been argued. If, on the basis of vessel shape, certain Cupisnique pots correspond to Mosna, then the Chicama specimens should exhibit figures that also date to Phase D. That is, in fact, the case.

As Figure 39a–h is intended to illustrate, the designs on this type of pot can only be dated to Phase D for they have such D diagnostic traits as the L-shaped canine feature, the rectangular eye form, and teeth continuing up the lip line in the front of the face (Feature 96). This specific feature and the treatment of the extremity on Figure 39d can be compared directly with the Gotush Stela (Fig. 23), a D piece.

It is also possible to confirm the long-standing suspicion that the vessel pictured in Figure 41a–c was an anachronism when it was made. Rowe has also argued for this interpretation (1971:113–16). While in form it appears to correspond to the earlier stirrup-spout Cupisnique bottles (such as Fig. 36a), the face on its surface could have been executed only in Phase D or later. The front face is the same as the small subsidiary head serving as an anklet on the columns of the Black-and-White Portal. The ear indications (Feature 102) are also derived from the same source. The stepped or tiered bridge of the nose treatment (Fig. 41c; Rowe 1971: Figs. 21, 22), also a Phase D characteristic (Feature 85), finds its parallels on pieces of a similar date such as the gold mask illustrated by Lothrop (1941: Pl. 18b). Even the L-shaped canine, common in the profile heads of this period (see Feature 89), is present on this specimen. The snake head with the upturned snout is also a late variant; a nearly identical example can be found in the upper register of the painted fabric from Ica (Fig. 17). Most of the Chicama specimens cluster late in time although the continuity of influences with Chavín de Huantar through earlier times appears more consistent in this area than in many others.

A relatively late date also characterizes many of the regional styles of the general North Coast area like that of the Jequetepeque. Many of these specimens have a kind of stirrup spout like Figure 39f. If cross-dating with the Mosna Phase at Chavín de Huantar (see Fig. 38a) can be relied upon, these pots should be late. This interpretation is reinforced by the occurrence of Salinar influence on many examples.

Salinar influence may be present on more than just ceramics. The two bone spatulas shown here as Figure 22a and b were found, according to Larco Hoyle, in Salinar graves. While vaguely Chavinoid of a late date, as the square-tipped canines and the general rectangularity of the figures indicate, they are clearly more removed from the Chavín tradition than Figure 21a and b. Despite the fact that more work has been done in the North Coast than many other areas of Peru, its culture history is still particularly obscure. More work is needed in unraveling local sequences and determining the roles of such cultures as Salinar and Vicús before much can be done with specimens from this area.

ANCON

PERHAPS Carrión Cachot's designation of Ancón as a "colony" of Chavín de Huantar was not too far from the truth. At any rate, the Chavín material found in the Ancón area (including Willey and Corbett's finds, those of Carrión, and those of Rosas) is stylistically far closer to the material produced at Chavín de Huantar itself than is any of the other material from outside the core area dealt with so far. All of it dates securely within Phase C of the Rowe seriation. The specimen shown by Rosas (n.d.: Pl. XVI) duplicates the mouth band from the Tello Obelisk almost exactly. Plate XVIII of the same study shows the front part of a dragon similar in every way to the Tello Obelisk. The ceramic piece now on exhibition at the Museo Nacional in Lima (Fig. 8) shows the naturalistic and fleshy treatment of the hands characteristic of the famous obelisk. Details of eye type (Feature 41) and of the mouth form with a raised point over the base of stubby canines also confirm the Phase C dating of this piece. Indeed, a small neckless *olla* pictured in Rosas La Noire's chronological chart bears a classic Ofrendas head.

As a glance at the seriation Chart II will demonstrate, the finds of Carrión Cachot correspond in every way to these more recent finds. Of the specimens recovered by Willey and Corbett the easiest to recognize iconographically is a completely normal Phase C textile (1954: Pl. XXIV). Once the constraints of material are taken into account, its conformity to the canons of Chavín de Huantar is obvious. The mouth and canine form correspond to Features 49 and 55. The form of the eye, intended to be a Feature 43, lenticular variant, was forced, through the mechanics of warp and weft, to become a hexagon.

All of the material that has been cited thus far from Rosas' excavations came from what he has designated as "Phase VI, Classical Chavín." The only illustrated specimen that indicates anything later than Phase C is a specimen that may date to his "Phase VII." It is a stirrup-spout vessel (Fig. 39b) with a form and incised design so similar to the material illustrated in Larco Hoyle's *Los Cupisniques* (Fig. 39c–f, h–o) that it could almost be thought to have been made in the Chicama Valley and not Ancón (Fig. 39b, g). Since the Ancón specimen is dated here as D, the correspondence would seem to be exact. In summation, the vast bulk of Chavín material from Ancón dates to Period C and resembles the work at Chavín de Huantar very closely. There is some evidence, on iconographic grounds, that the Chavinoid occupation lasted at least into Period D.

ICA

DUE TO certain ambiguities in the ceramic record, the advent of Chavín influence in the Ica Valley is a moot point. This involves the question, was Chavín art introduced into the Ica Valley during Phase D of the central sequence? In other words, does Phase 1 in the Ica sequence correspond to Phase D of the Chavín sequence? Perhaps Grieder (personal communication) is correct when he maintains that, "I suspect Ocucaje 1 pots are just old-fashioned provincial versions related to middle or later Chavín-heartland style. There is no question in my mind that Menzel *et al.*'s Phase 1 examples are at the beginning of the Ica sequence, but I do not see that the Ica sequence tells us much about the early stages of the style in Ancash."

The chief difficulty that I want to examine briefly here is the seriation of the Ica stirrup-spout vessels. It may be questioned on what basis the Olsen bottle (Fig. 40a), which is essentially the sample for this Phase 1 vessel body form, can be separated by three phases from the Tishman bottle, "the exact homologue of Phase 1 stirrup-spout bottle in shape, as well as in decoration" (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964:34). These authors (1964:11) describe the Olsen bottle type as forming "a separate, comparatively conservative descent line through succeeding phases to Phase 4." There is no associational data to bolster the relative placement. One trend in the Ica sequence, as those authors present it, is the trend away from two-dimensional modeling, which is always described as a "conservative" trait when it appears in later phases, to one-dimensional treatment (incision). Judged by this criterion, the Tishman bottle should be seriated before its identical counterpart since it has modeled ears and the Olsen bottle lacks them. A third stirrup-spout bottle from Ica is pictured here as Figure 40b and c. It has the broad, thickened, slightly beveled rim modification characteristic of the other two pots. Unlike them, however, the modeled face which is portrayed shows definite Phase D characteristics which Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson are quick to point out (1964:39). The most obvious of these characteristics is the mouth form with decorative points on the corners. Elsewhere, I have argued that there is some evidence to associate this rim form with the later phases in the evolution of the Chavín stirrup-spout bottle, specifically Phase D and later. The iconographic elements seem to be consistent with this dating.

All of this leads to several alternative possibilities to the one advanced by Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, which have the merit of greater simplicity while still relating to the broader trends within the Chavín style. One alternative is to place both the Olsen and the Tishman bottles in Phase 1 and keep the Figure 40b bottle in Phase 4. Then the conservatism would be more plausible when argued in terms of vessel shape only rather than both vessel shape and surface decoration. Another possibility, and the one I prefer, is to place all three vessels together in Phase 1 on the specific grounds of form, thus eliminating complicated genealogical lines. According to this scheme, Phase 1 in Ica might be comparable to Phase D at Chavín.

Whether or not the Chavín style first came to the Ica Valley in Phase D, the first massive impingement in the artistic tradition of Ica can be securely dated to that phase, with textiles probably playing a seminal role.

The painted Chavín textiles known for some time from Callango (Figs. 13 and 19) have now been joined by a group of new *huaquero* finds described as coming from seven to eight kilometers to the south of the Paracas Necropolis. All of these fragments are contemporary and all date from Phase D. All are apparently trade pieces, so close is their adherence to the canons of Chavín art as defined at Chavín de Huantar itself. The only other possibility that would explain their close identity is that they were made by locally resident artists who had emigrated from Chavín de Huantar. The suggestion recently made by Alan Sawyer (1972) that Chavín iconography and style may have been brought to Ica via the painted textiles makes immediate sense to anyone who has attempted to transport ceramics any distance, even under relatively ideal conditions. What more compact, non-breakable, and convenient form for the transfer of style could have been chosen?

The sample includes the two specimens that Rowe illustrated (Figs. 13, 19), now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection; a number of pieces recently in the Textile Museum, Washington; and six fragments in the Amano Museum in Lima, which Yasushi Miyazaki was kind enough to let me examine. Tracings of the Amano group on polyethylene form the basis of the renderings in the illustration section of this paper (Figs. 12, 14–18). Small space-filler geometric appendages that project on small stems from the main figure are a stylistic peculiarity of this whole assemblage. These appendages are either rectangles or doughnut-shaped circles and are not found on any of the stone specimens from Chavín itself. Other than this divergence, there is little that is new in the Ica finds. The tail element of Figure 19, for example, is the same as the front-face visage (Feature 101) used as an anklet on the columns of the Black-and-White Portal. A peculiar subsidiary figure in the form of a bird head with a three-element head projection, probably related to the three-piece serpent tongue, appears on several of the recently discovered textiles (Figs. 12, 17). It will now be designated as the "hammer-headed falcon." An exact parallel appears on the lower right-hand side of the north column of the Black-and-White Portal. A somewhat similar figure occurs on the pyroengraved gourd that Tello (1959: Fig. 33) illustrates for the Ica Valley; a D dating is indicated here by the treatment of the head and the type of snake.

Figure 16 shows a unique circular organization with typical Phase D agnathic mouth masks and a human figure of the mythical variety that has a head very similar to several late coastal depictions of the human head (Fig. 40e). Figure 15 is a miniature of the larger "Staff God" depictions and the central figure is comparable to the gold plaque from Lambayeque illustrated by Rowe (1962: Fig. 27), thus providing some links for cross-dating. Figure 17 represents two bird-guardian figures (always readily distinguishable from the human-felines by the presence of a rear talon instead of a plain human heel). The twined snake belt appendages are analogous to the spiraled serpents in Figure 19, showing a form that will manifest itself later in the lower snake elements of the Raimondi Stela.

The basic impression one brings from studying these textiles is that of the cursive quality which pervades the drawings. The proportions of mirror-image figures are not quite as exact as in the stone sculpture, and "plan ahead" problems begin to crop up. Where, for example, is the left, fourth wing element on the bird-guardian (Fig. 19) to correspond to the element on the right? No room has been left for it. Similarly, on Figure 15 one can catch the Chavín artist in a very rare violation of his own canons. The left hand of the staff figure has been preserved but is misdrawn, judged from the point of view of how taloned hands are invariably drawn in Chavín art. There is one line too many, defining the top line of the finger and the bottom line of the one above it, with the result that one line ends in mid-air without being attached to the fingernail-talon. The right hand has been reconstructed (it is indicated in dotted lines) and shows how the hand should have been depicted. Such little items serve to reinforce the impression of skillful, if somewhat careless, execution. One final detail will serve to end the discussion of these pieces. R. T. Zuidema has pointed out to me (personal communication) that the little front-face, centrally placed head in the bird-guardian's mouth in Figure 19 is exactly analogous to the small head held in the center of the body in the cupped hands of the Kuntur Wasi stela (Carrión Cachot 1948: Pl. XXX). Their close relation in age makes this correspondence significant.

Gradually, the Ica sequence began to diverge from the Chavín sequence at an accelerated pace as Chavín influences became assimilated into the local tradition. Figure 40d illustrates this process. It pertains to a Phase 6 specimen from Callango. Despite its local character, it retains enough of Chavín to demonstrate how general trends in the evolution of the Chavín style were being mirrored in a regional sequence. Compare the execution of the hands and feet of this specimen to those pictured in Chart IV. The same pressures for total rectangularization are evident in both. The head of the Callango piece is perfectly square (Feature 103). While in part this has resulted from the geometrical bias of the Ica style, other features indicate that more than parallel stylistic evolution is at work. The eye form, with its extreme flattening and elongation, is very similar in concept to the eye on the Raimondi Stela (see Feature 125). The canines have flattened tips (Feature 133). As on the Raimondi, only the simple variant of the snake appears in association with the figure. One pair even corresponds to the pointed-snout variety represented on that monument (Feature 142). Thus, there would seem to be reason to place Phase 6 in some kind of relationship with Phase EF in the Chavín heartland. Later Ica phases have broken away completely—except for certain very basic and highly generalized characteristics—from the Chavín tradition. Indeed, they persisted after the demise of Chavín (see Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964: Fig. 49c; Sawyer 1966: Fig. 198).

HUARA

THE ONLY PIECE attributed to the Huara Valley is a carved bone spatula shown here as Figure 6. The mouth configuration with a point above the base of the canine, the wide, saber-like canine itself with a nearly vertical trailing edge, and the eye form all identify it as a very typical Phase C piece. While it is impossible to date the advent of Chavín influence to a valley on the basis of only one specimen, it at least demonstrates that Chavín influence was present in the Huara Valley during Phase C.

CASMA

THE CASMA VALLEY, and its neighbor the Nepeña, are the focal points of this study. The Casma, in particular, forms a natural corridor leading to the Callejón de Huaylas and, in turn, to the Marañon, the Puchka, and the site of Chavín de Huantar. It is no surprise, therefore to note that the earliest Casma Chavinoid centers, Pallka and Moxeke, are relatively far up the Casma and that Chavín influences reached them relatively early, but not in the first phase of its development.

The site of Pallka is located far up the Casma on a tributary of that name. Situated on the natural platform of a rocky promontory, Pallka is surrounded by formidable mountain peaks. From the site came the *representación felínica* which I have identified as a cayman and which is presented here as Figure 7e. The string of interlocked circular elements on its back represents the spinal column which may be noted on all the cayman depictions reproduced here. The specific treatment of the feet and nose, with the characteristic concave upper line, indicate a Phase C date for this piece. As noted earlier, the Pallka specimen may be used as a naturalistic model which makes all of the later and more complex representations of the cayman decipherable.

The next Casma center that can be dated to this period is the famous site of Moxeke, farther down the valley toward the sea. In front of the third platform of the structure, facing front and flanking the stairway to the right, Tello encountered five badly eroded "idols," modeled in clay over a core of conical adobes, each placed within a separate niche (Tello 1956:60–1). The figures had originally been gaudily painted in earthen pigments of white, blue, yellow, red, gray, and green. The main building itself showed traces of having been painted red (Thompson 1962b:207). *Idolo cuarto* (Fig. 7a) has two pairs of snakes hanging over the shoulders (Tello 1956: Figs. 27, 30). Because of damage, it is uncertain where the snakes are coming from. They are, however, an early, elaborate version of the simple snake. The Moxeke snakes are exact copies of the snakes on the

Lanzón and show characteristics which do not survive beyond Phase C at Chavín de Huantar. This is the only type of snake presented here; it indicates a dating to the early half of the sequence. Perhaps the most specific comparison, in terms of method as well as technique of execution, is with the recently discovered specimen from Ancón (Fig. 8). Both specimens show the same double-forked serpent tongue, a naturalistic element that differs from the three-pronged tongue for serpent heads prevailing at Chavín de Huantar.

The way the hands of the Moxeke figures are executed (Fig. 7b) exactly parallels the treatment of hands on the Tello Obelisk, and also closely parallels the hands on the Ancón specimen which also has been dated, on other bases, to Phase C. In addition, Figure 7c displays an eye form characterized by a concave upper line and a semicircular lower outline. This eye form occurs on the Tello Obelisk. Note that Figure 7d is identical to 7c except that the eyes and mouth are closed in the latter case. Perhaps the closed eyes indicate death here, as they do in the later and related Sechín style. If so, its appearance alongside a "live" representation probably carried some structural meaning for the people who made it. This meaning may be related to the appearance in Sechín of more elaborate figures, invariably with eye markings, in association with their unadorned victims with closed eyes.

One specific iconographic element that Moxeke shares with the early end of the Chavín seriation is the presence of the pleated kilt (Feature 39) which is worn by the main figure. A comparison with the Lanzón shows that it too is wearing a pleated kilt. In later periods in Chavín art, this kilt is replaced by a G-string ending in double serpent appendages, a trait that continues right on into Moche iconography. On balance, an early date for Moxeke, probably Phase C, is indicated.

There are a number of specific correspondences between the sculpture at Moxeke and that at Cerro Sechín. These include: eyes in the form of a half-moon, the flat side being pointed up and the round side down; a band descending down the cheek from the eye (in the case of Moxeke, it starts from the lower edge of the eye, while in the case of Sechín it also extends above the eye); a broad pug nose, depicted most often in Sechín in profile and in Moxeke front-face; a mouth consisting of a thick, continuous lip band extending around a mouth full of exposed teeth, in neither case showing canines, as at Chavín; and a pleated kilt. In the case of Sechín, however, the kilt only appears on the defeated prisoner figures. The victors have a girdle with two groups of feathers or plumes extending from each side, which can best be considered a variant of the double-serpent belt of later Chavín representations. Jiménez Borja (1969:40) has mentioned that Tello originally interpreted the eye line at Sechín as the strap that held on the cap. While the presence of this line appears to be a prestige feature in that it is found exclusively on the warriors (who are the only ones to wear caps), the idea that the markings are straps appears invalidated by the fact that they stop above and below the eye and do not cover it as they should if they were functioning straps. A far more plausible suggestion is Jiménez Borja's hypothesis (1969:40) that they probably represent face painting, a custom, he points out, also present in traditional Moche culture. I suggest that these markings may be connected with the phenomenon that Yacovleff (1932) has labeled "hawk-markings." Henceforward they will be referred to as such.

Tello believed that the carved stone blocks at Sechín belonged to a so-called "megalithic" level of Chavín culture, and that the conical adobe structure, in which the carvings were included, belonged to an entirely different and later level, which he termed "sub-Chavín" (1956:280). Tello's belief in two different periods colored his interpretation of the monoliths and what they represented. He found ninety monoliths more or less *in situ*, along and in front of the wall, and eight more 30 to 40 meters away (1956:278). This wall formed by the monoliths stretched 52 meters in length on either side of the central entrance until it turned at both ends. Since Tello thought that the monoliths were earlier, he postulated that they were reused by the builders of the conical adobe platform:

> Even though the lateral walls were well-preserved it is possible to affirm that the work was second hand. Those who constructed it paid no attention to the importance the engraved stones had in the context of a building; they were used like mere construction materials, or, perhaps, ornamentation, without awareness of their significance. The large and small monoliths were placed carelessly, and at different levels inside the wall. Some of the little monoliths with human faces on them were placed upside down; and in one case, in place of a large monolith, there had been placed a large, unengraved stone. (1956:278)

It is possible to affirm, using Tello's own data, that such reuse never occurred. Those who carved the monoliths knew very well their significance and arranged them accordingly. In support of this contention, I suggest that an examination of what was depicted yields a coherent picture. In addition to the complete, or mostly complete human bodies represented at Sechín, there are a number of more abstract elements which can be interpreted as parts of human bodies. The example that Tello astutely identified as a spinal column (Fig. 31d) is an element that is also present in the Yauya Stela (Fig. 11) in nearly identical form, and thus serves to date the Sechín carvings in a manner consistent with the other lines of evidence. Disembodied eyes (Fig. 31a) and severed pairs of arms (Fig. 31b) are readily identifiable. Recently, Mendoza and Román (1969:32) have pointed out that Figure 31c probably represents a skeletal human pelvis, an interpretation that is certainly consistent with the other elements.

The trophy-head cult, first evident in Phase C at Chavín de Huantar, has now reached its height. There are stacked trophy heads shown full face with closed eyes indicating death (Fig. 31e). Individual severed human heads are common, either with the neck intact or with three scalloped cuts at the base of the neck to indicate decapitation. All of these decapitated heads have flowing hair coming out of a squarish head in three simple strands (Fig. 29d). There is one specimen, however (Tello 1956: Fig. 98), which has complexly looped hair, just as on the trophy head of Figure 28e from Gotush. Apparently hair with recurved tips was a prestige item reserved for the depictions of warriors. Some of the trophy heads have stylized blood and gore gushing out of cuts in their necks, heads, and eyes (Fig. 29d; Tello 1956: Figs. 86, 89, 92, etc.).

In addition to the dismembered parts of bodies, there are bodies cut into various sections, the cuts again represented by scalloped lines (Fig. 29c). Invariably such bodies are naked or clad only in the pleated skirt or kilt (Fig. 29e). Sometimes the bodies are sprawled, with eyes closed and arms akimbo. Often the body consists of just the torso (Fig. 29e). The only complete figures in the frieze—and it is a real frieze that tells a definite story—are costumed warriors each holding a club with a unique L-shaped head. Each is decked out in elaborate regalia that can include a truncated conical hat, out of which descends one or two sets of feathers, and a girdle with several hanging plumes. This latter element probably derives from the late serpent belt (Feature 123) with plumes replacing serpents. In the details of hands and feet the conquerors are identical to their victims (Fig. 29e).

On either side of the doorway there were two major monoliths which Tello (1956: Fig. 53) described as knives. It is interesting that there are two of them which start a symmetrical organization continued by the distribution of the warriors and their trophies. Clearly the builders were striving for symmetry, a trait which Rowe lists as one of the characteristics of Chavín art, and a pattern unlikely to occur in the casual reuse of older building material.

The monoliths of Cerro Sechín depict much the same story that Gerdt Kutscher has seen in Moche painted ceramics. The same warriors are depicted in all their finery in contrast to their naked prisoners and victims. The images are essentially the same, although, of course, the styles are different. Kutscher describes "a naked man, lying flat on his back, his extremities extended. This was the characteristic position, in the battle scenes, for indicating a corpse. In the same row, lies a severed human head" (1950: 120).

It is a proposition of this paper that a re-examination of Rowe's Chavín seriation coupled with a new seriation of the human figure in Chavín art supports the position that the sculpture of Cerro Sechín is late rather than early.

The crucial piece for the placing of Cerro Sechín in relative time is Figure 28e, the EF carved plaque from Chavín de Huantar designated here as the Head-Bearer. If Sechín is accepted as early, it would be impossible to account for this specimen, which holds a trophy head in his hand; the result would be a bi-model distribution of the trophy-head cult. One would have to explain why it was present in the earliest times, absent in Phase AB, and then present again in Phase C. With Cerro Sechín dated late, there is no such difficulty. The extreme preoccupation of Sechín art with the trophy-head cult and warfare would merely form an intensification of what happened earlier at Chavín, and would fit in with what was going on in the other regional centers.

The treatment of the trophy head itself in Figure 28e shows several specific resemblances to details of the Sechín rendering of this theme. In Cerro Sechín convention, the blood that gushes from the severed neck of the trophy head was represented by blunt strands, with a line separating the tips from the main portions of the strands. Apparently this device was used to differentiate the stylized blood from hair, which was portrayed in a similar fashion only without the separating line or the blunted tips. Exactly the same convention appears in Figure 28e, of EF dating. In this case, the blunt tips appear as small squares at the ends of the strands (also three in number) coming down out of the neck just as they do at Cerro Sechín. Moreover, the hair of the trophy head is depicted in exactly the same manner as the hair of the Sechín carvings, as pointed strands looped together in a manner identical to that illustrated in Tello (1956: Fig. 98). To expand the list of similarities, the eye form of the trophy head on Figure 28e is the same as that found on the Sechín works. The fact that it lacks a pupil suggests that the artist was trying to depict a closed eye, indicating death by the same convention current at Sechín. The treatment of the hands and feet in Figure 28e and in the Cerro Sechín carvings converge, both approximating rectangles but with the heel showing a stronger tendency toward rectangularization than the hands (Tello 1956: Figs. 77, 63).

The presence of a conservative trait in Cerro Sechín art, like the pleated kilt, can be explained as a continuation of the earlier Moxeke convention, which was derived from Chavín, rather than as a result of direct contacts between early Chavín and Cerro Sechín. The closer similarities between Moxeke and Chavín than between Sechín and Chavín (outside of the chronologically specific cluster of traits relating to the trophy head) would tend to support such a position. In short, these detailed comparisons justify an earlier statement by Lathrap (1971:74), "I am completely unconvinced by the argument that Chavín originated in the north-central coast valleys such as Casma or Nepeña. I think that Lanning's (1967:93, 101) identification of the Cerro Sechín carvings as pre-Chavín is extremely dubious. In a number of specific details the Cerro Sechín carvings suggest a rustic rendering of the EF segment of Rowe's (1962) chronology for Chavín rather than a precursor of Chavín AB."

HUAYLAS

Thompson (1962c) discovered two works in the town of Huaylas in the Callejón de Huaylas which display the closest affinities to the monoliths of Cerro Sechín of any sculpture found outside the Casma Valley. "Resemblances to the sculpture at Cerro Sechín Temple appear to be greater than to that of the Chavín style. . . . The scalloped neckline, generally believed to indicate a severed trophy head, occurs frequently at Cerro Sechín, but such heads usually have closed eyes there. The ear and mouth treatment, except for the possible pointed tooth, can be roughly duplicated at Cerro Sechín as can the headdress or hair lock of one figure" (Thompson 1962c:246). As a glance at Figure 30a and b shows, the resemblances are more than a rough duplication. Figure 30a is very similar to 30c, a specimen from the most recent excavations at Cerro Sechín. The eye form is in both cases identical. The bulbous nose on the Huaylas piece is in line with the lip line to a degree that few Sechín works can match, but the close similarity of the two groups of works shows that this cannot be used as a chronological argument with respect to Cerro Sechín.

Another peculiarity retained by Figure 30a and b is the above-the-nose fold, a feature absent in Sechín art. However, the line behind the mouth on Figure 30a probably represents the above-the-mouth crease descending from the nose, as shown in Figure 30c. Unfortunately, in the case of Figure 30a, this crease has eroded away from the vicinity of the nose. Before weathering, Figure 30a probably also possessed teeth executed in the same pattern as on Figure 30c. The mouth in both instances pinches out in the middle in hourglass configuration. To expand the points of similarity of the Huaylas pieces with those of Cerro Sechín mentioned by Thompson, the heads in Figure 30b and d show the same looped depiction of hair. The ear type of the Huaylas pieces is a classical Sechín ear. In conclusion, to quote from Thompson: "The dating of Cerro Sechín Temple remains uncertain, but all presently available information tends to favor a date shortly following the Chavín horizon. . . . Although the Huaylas pieces are out of context, a similar date might be suggested for them on the basis of the resemblances to Cerro Sechín Temple and the features reminiscent of the Chavín style" (1962c:246). The "unique" site of Cerro Sechín is no longer unique.

NEPENA

JUDGING from the stylistic evidence, the site of Cerro Blanco flourished a little later than Pallka and Moxeke in the Casma. Rowe (1967:76) dates Cerro Blanco to his Phase C. Certainly, the presence of the mouth form with a mid-rib, a Phase C diagnostic trait (Feature 54, and Kubler 1962: Pl. 124), argues for a C dating, as does the point above the base of the canines in the painted mouth bands surrounding the modeled relief. However, in this case the continuance of the point to the exterior lip-line does not occur; the line is straight, and the canines are flat at the end, a late trait. The extreme rectangularization of the opposed mirror-image faces, as well as the extreme flattening of the eye, when coupled with the presence of the Phase D, L-shaped canine, tend to argue for a slightly later date. Though some traits indicate Cerro Blanco is Phase C, others make it most plausible to place the monument at the very end of C, or perhaps early D.

The other major Nepeña center is Punkurí. One of the two pieces usable for dating is the modeled upper portion of a realistic cat that occupied the center of the main stairway (Soriano Infante 1941: Fig. 22; Larco Hoyle 1941: Fig. 7; Kubler 1962: Pl. 123b). Immediately notable is the fact that the mouth type of this cat corresponds exactly to that of the Pacopampa cat (Fig. 24b). This correspondence suggests a late dating for Punkurí which is strengthened by the fact that the cat from Pukurí bears the "double-winged eye" (Feature 145), also a late trait at Chavín. Yet another corroborating detail linking Punkurí to Cerro Sechín is a red-painted feline (Tello 1956: Fig. 109), found in the temple of Cerro Sechín. Although incomplete, it is related both to the Punkurí feline and to two specimens from Chavín (Tello 1960: Figs. 62, 72) dated in this study as later (see Feature 144).

The painted bas-relief of Punkurí (Carrión Cachot 1948: Pl. XIX-4) reinforces a late dating for the cat since it is clearly a transitional piece that bridges the gap between the Chavín and Moche traditions. This figure displays very few specific Chavín elements and yet succeeds in looking perfectly Chavinoid. Perhaps it is a cayman like those already investigated, but one in which the fish element has begun to assume primary importance. The treatment of the small figures within the divisions of the main figure, particularly the monkey and the seal, appear very Moche-like. This curious figure is related to Cerro Sechín sculpture through its rectangular girdle consisting of an inner and outer rectangle, the same as that worn by the warriors at Cerro Sechín (Fig. 29a). A late date for Punkurí is consistent with its similarities to Cerro Sechín and the Nepeña centers of Cuchipampa and Siete Huacas with their Sechín-style depictions.

As intimated above, the stone lintels from Cuchipampa (Cusi-pampa?) and Siete Huacas, found by

Proulx (1968), show that Cerro Sechín is no longer unique, as was once imagined (Fig. 32a and b). Figure 32b in particular can be considered a crude rendering of its Sechín counterpart, Figure 29a, a standing warrior in full regalia brandishing a club in one hand. The girdle is of the same form as that in the Punkurí mural and even closer to the Sechín examples (cf. Fig. 32c and d) and is characterized by a single series of plumes extending from the back.

For yet another close parallel to Cerro Sechín, one must go to the stone mortar (or mortars) pictured in Larco Hoyle (1963: Fig. 32; Carrión Cachot 1948: Pl. XI-5; Fig. 33a and b, this paper). These drawings show figures comparable to the Sechín figures in both general appearance and specific portrayal of the characteristic Sechín girdle already discussed. They seem to represent the end of the trend toward rectilinear treatment which Sechín shared with Late Chavín. The hair strands on the Lambayeque mortar are the same as at Sechín. The earplug of the right-hand figure has the design from the ball-butt of the club used by the warriors at Sechín (Fig. 29b), while the design of the headdress is that of the head of that club. It will be noticed that the outlines of the hair on the left half of the figure are softer, and that the head lacks the club attributes. Perhaps we are dealing here with the concept of duality so often encountered in Cupisnique ceramics, and the right-hand figure is a symbolized weapon, while the left is life, the unhappy victim. Such an interpretation is suggested by scenes in Moche art in which weapons are personified and on occasion give battle to humans.

In brief, what then are the implications of this seriation for Chavín chronology and cultural history? It would seem that this study can shed little light on the first appearance of a full-fledged and mature Chavín art style at Chavín de Huantar since it cannot furnish plausible antecedents. It does, however, provide a coherent picture of the later history of the Chavín style (see Chart VI). In the earliest Phase, AB, the influence of the art of Chavín was relatively narrow, not extending much beyond the Puchka River Basin. In Phase C, Chavín art spread to the Huara and Casma Valleys, and to Ancón. The purity of these distant manifestations and the cultural homogeneity which it implies argue for communication and some degree of political control uniting the various Chavín centers. This spread of Chavín influence is not inconsistent with the fact that the trophy-head cult and an emphasis on warriors appear in this phase. The presence of war clubs (Rowe 1962: Figs. 35–38) on the North Coast, where the only suitable big game is other men, and the actual presence and implied use of such clubs at Supe, also in a Phase C context where "the skulls from Supe show four cases of fracture or inflammatory lesions, probably of traumatic origin [and] the male skull and skeleton from Grave 10 at the Lighthouse site showed five extensive healed fractures" (Willey and Corbett 1954:144), seems to indicate that the spread of the Chavín cult was not always so peaceful as was once assumed.

The extension of Chavín artistic influence reached its maximum in the following phase, D, as the large number of examples attributable to this stage indicates. Finally, this uniformity broke down as regional differences began to assert themselves. There is evidence of an increasing preoccupation with warriors and head-taking in these regional cultures. One gets the impression of small and warring political communities whose autonomy was reflected in the divergence among their artistic traditions and the details of their martial regalia. Specific Chavín elements declined as the local art became more and more the product of the local situation. It is in this milieu that one must place Alto de la Guitarra, Monte Calvario, Cusi-pampa, and Cerro Sechín.

Explanation of the Illustrations

SINCE THERE IS an unfortunate but understandable tendency for the more renowned pieces of Chavín art to be reillustrated in every new work in this field, they need not be repeated here. One thing the literature does not need is yet another set of illustrations of the Lanzón, the Raimondi Stela, the "Smiling God," the Tello Obelisk, and the Black-and-White

Portal. Thus, while these specimens are discussed at length in this work, they are not illustrated in it. Instead, the opportunity has been taken to show more obscure specimens, new views of familiar specimens, and those not pictured in an adequate way before. At least in part, this approach is intended to remedy the difficulty of attempting to study Chavín art when many interesting and some crucial pieces are not generally current in the literature. Therefore, this work is meant to be read in conjunction with a small number of standard works in the field of Chavín art, most notably Rowe 1962 and/or 1967 and Tello 1956 and 1960, rather after the fashion of a gloss. Many excellent illustrations of the most famous pieces can be found in these sources.

Chavín pottery and the iconographic evidence derived from it were treated here as unavoidably relevant, but not as the main subject of inquiry. Hence, ceramics are illustrated after depictions derived from stone sculpture, wood and bone carving, and textiles. More attention was focused on the designs incised and modeled on the ceramics than on associated forms. This does not mean that the author feels an analysis of form cannot be worked out, only that a full treatment is not possible here. As a partial compromise, pottery designs are illustrated along with the vessel shapes on which they commonly occur.

Chronological arguments and their relation to spacial distribution having been presented in the text, the illustrations are ordered by time rather than space. However, where possible, specimens from the same area pertaining to the same relative time period are grouped together. Works pictured come from all over Peru.

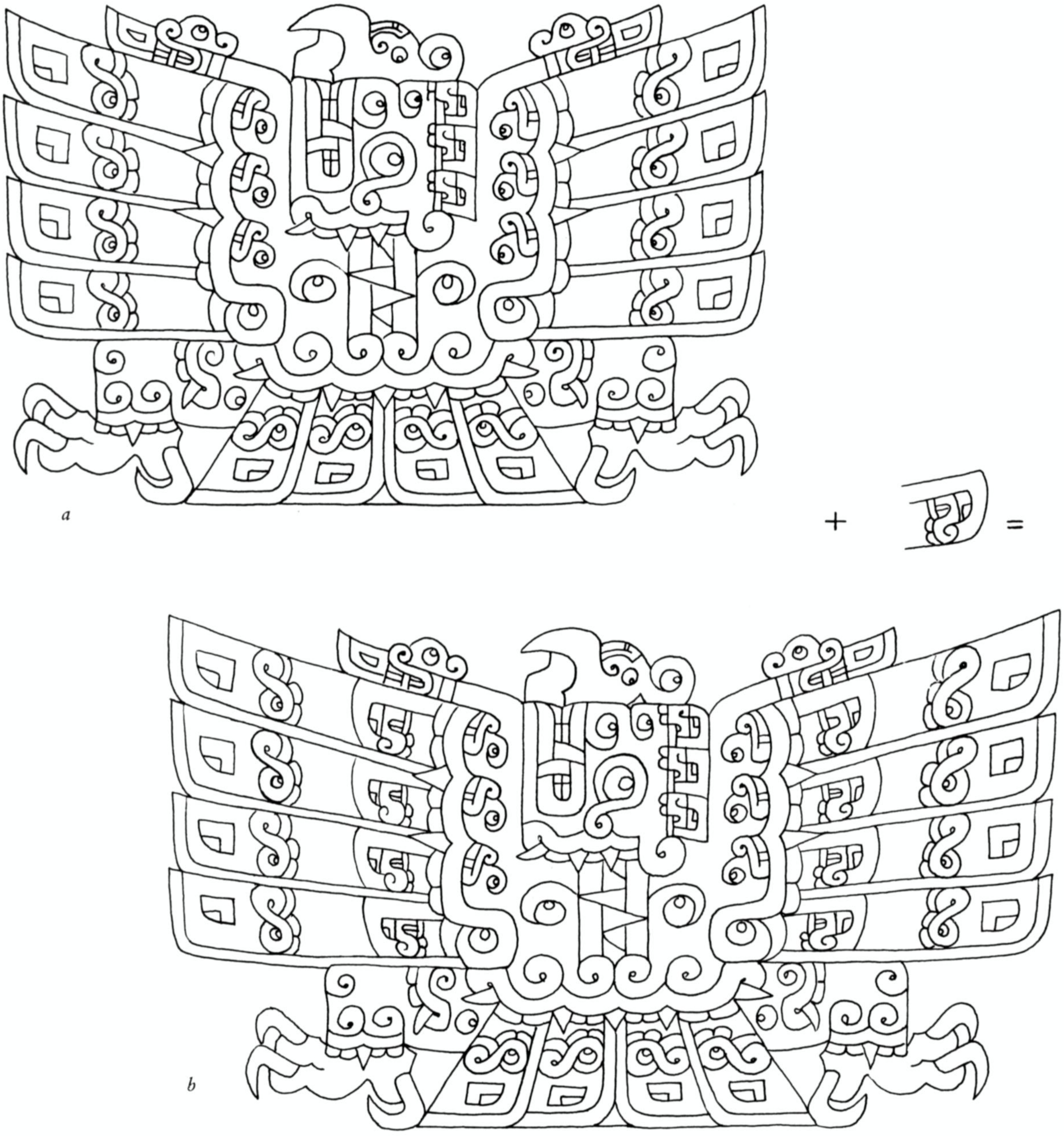


Fig. 1 Cornices found off the northeast corner of the old south wing of the temple, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Rowe 1967: Figs. 13 and 12.)

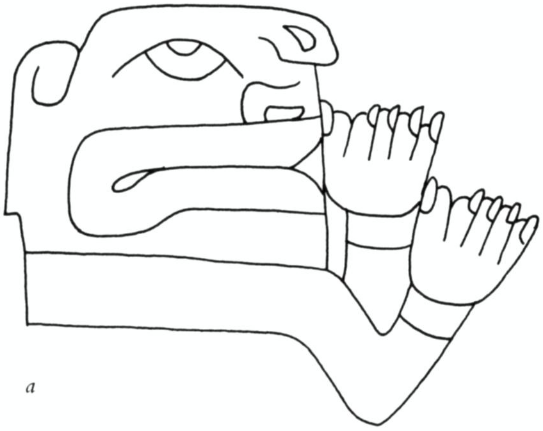
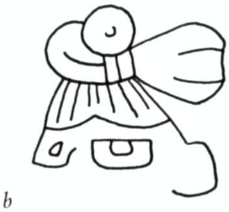
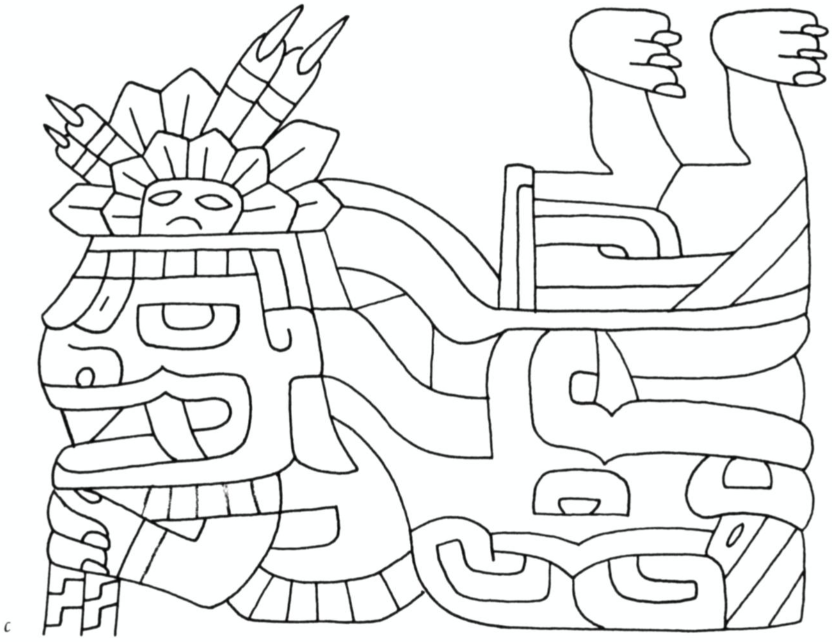
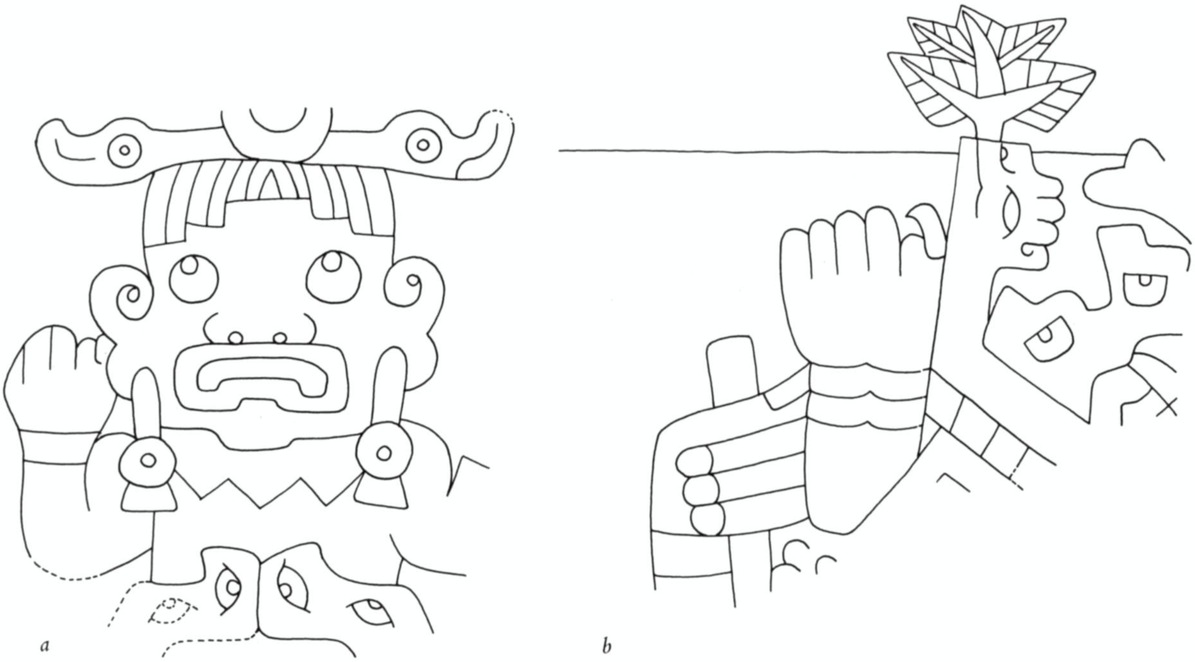


Fig. 2 Tello Obelisk, presumably found in the Epoch III sunken courtyard, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Fig. 31.) *a.* (Corresponds to Rowe 1967: Fig. 7, A-15.) *b.* (Corresponds to Rowe 1967: Fig. 7, B-17.) *c.* (Corresponds to Rowe 1967: Fig. 7, A-25, A-26, A-27, A-29.)



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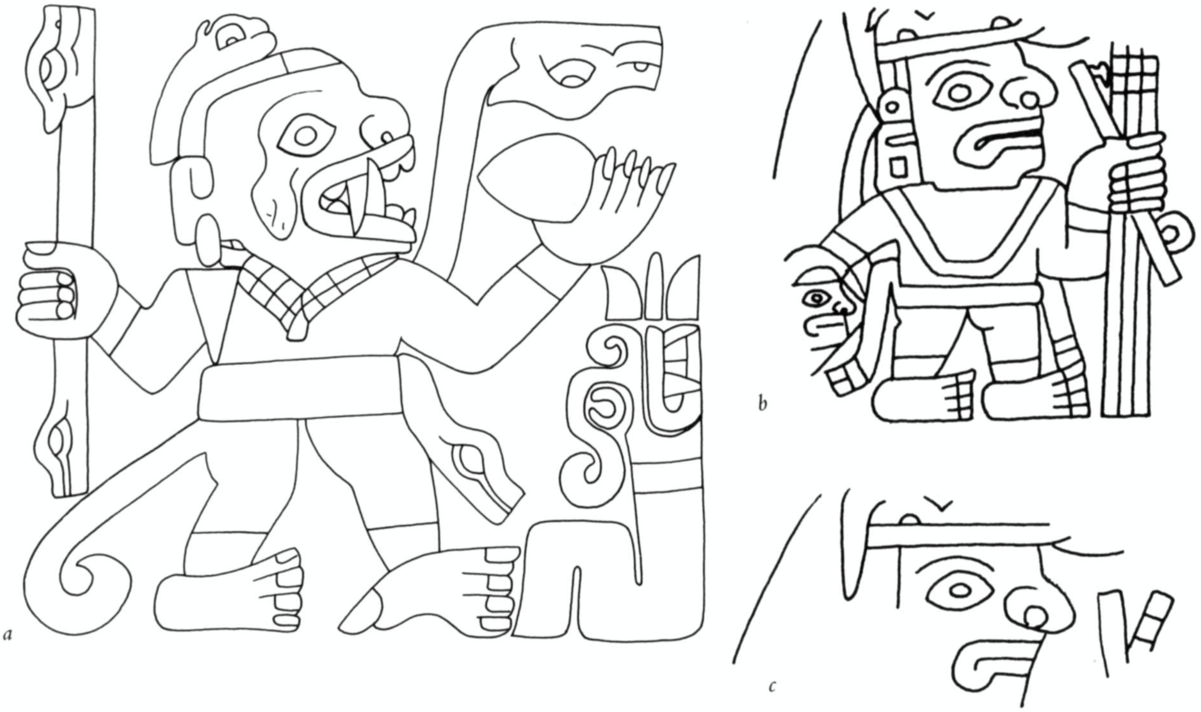
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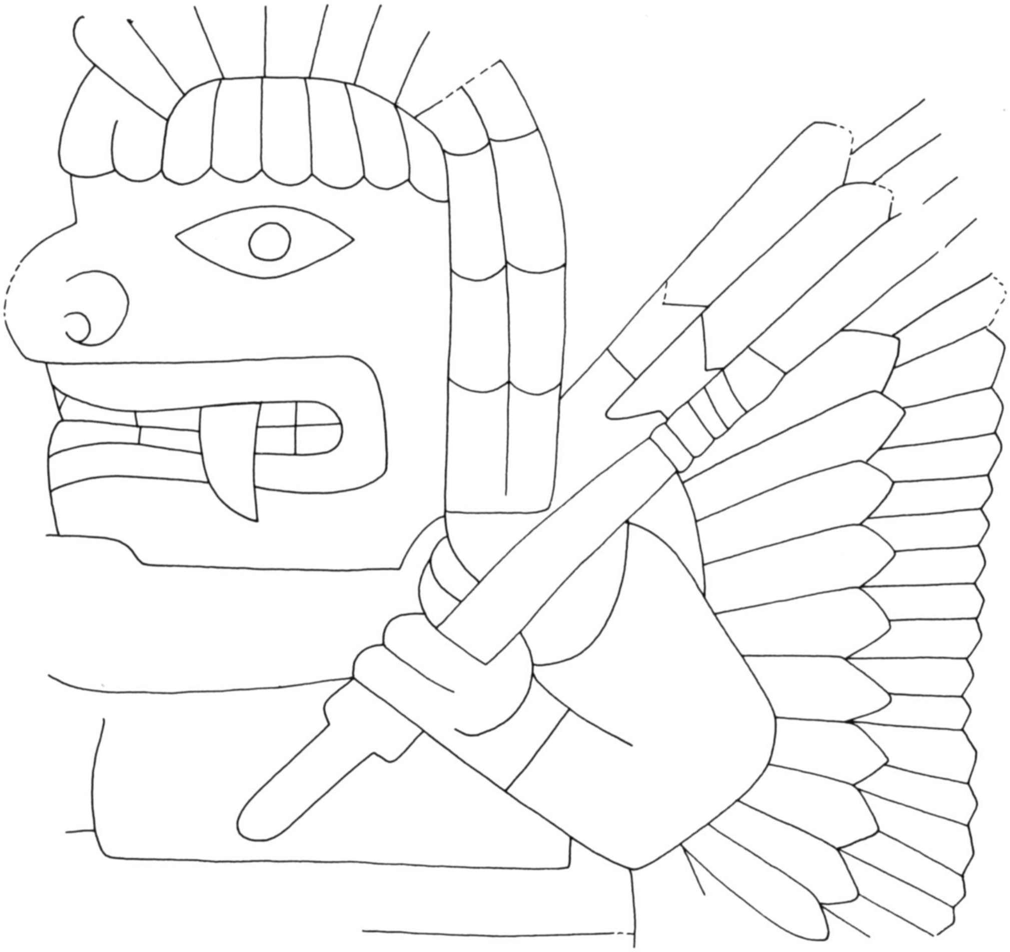
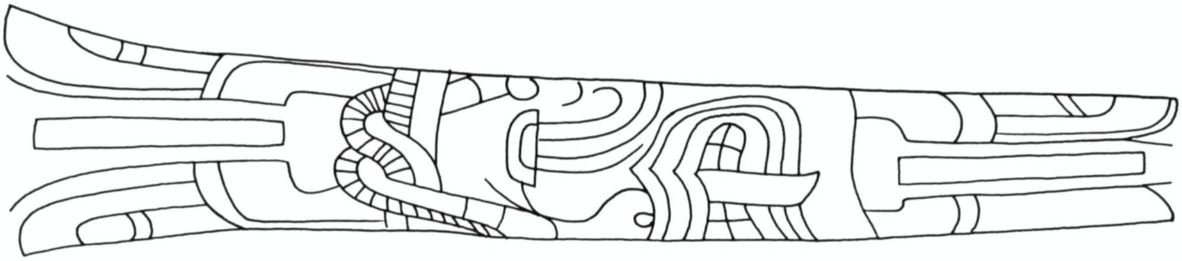


Fig. 3 (opposite, above) Stone mortar, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Figs. 126b and 126a.)
Fig. 4 (opposite, below) Chavín de Huantar. *a*. Square framed relief. (Adapted from Ayers 1961: Fig. 14.) *b*. Relief fragment. (Adapted from Rowe 1962: Fig. 17.) *c*. Relief fragment, part of the same wall frieze as *b*. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Fig. 85.)
Fig. 5 (above) Relief, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Kauffmann Doig 1971: Fig. 268.)
Fig. 6 (below) Carved bone spatula, Huara Valley. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Pl. XLIXc.)



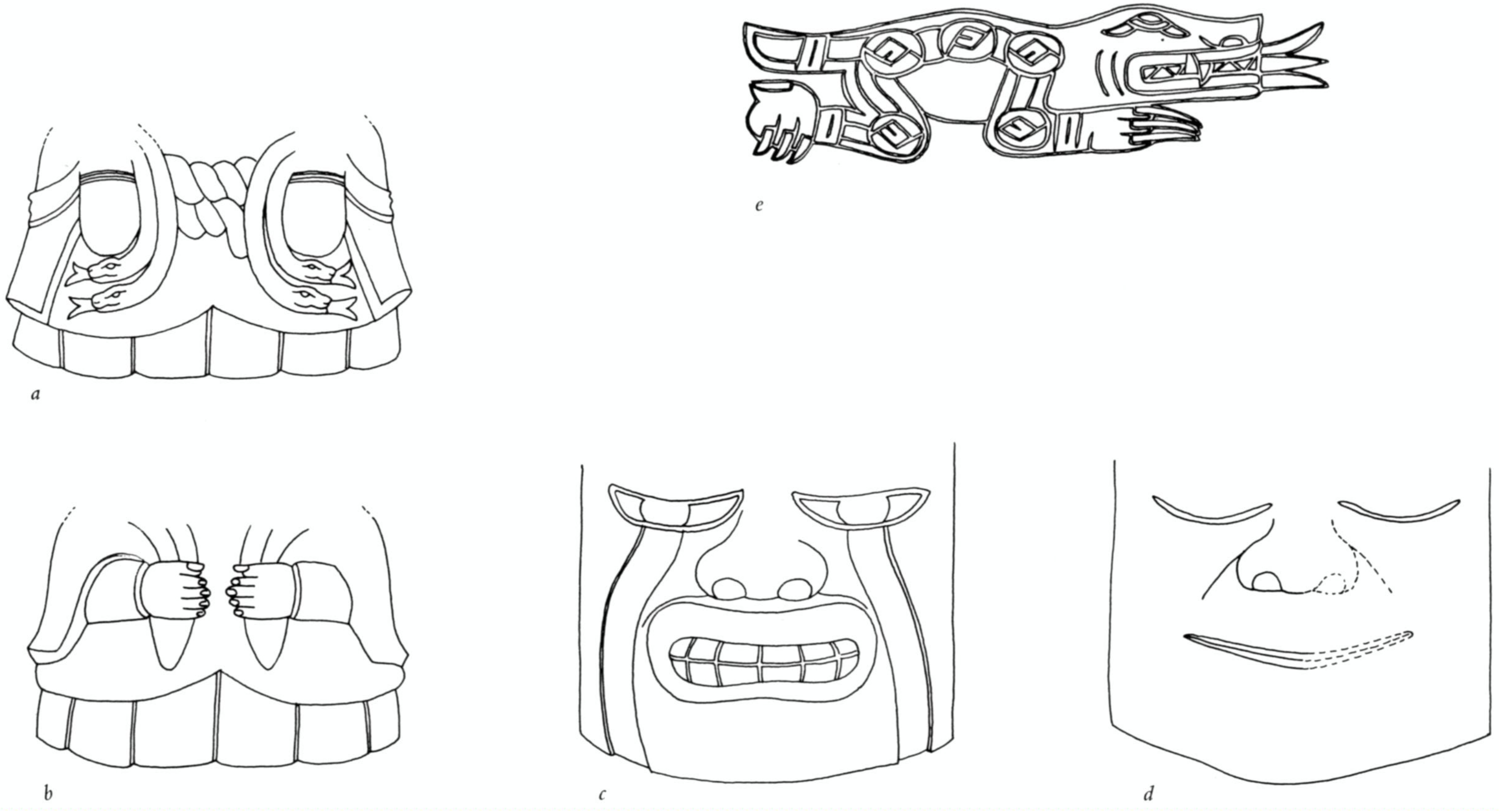


Fig. 7 Casma Valley. *a–d*. Idols on the temple platform, painted mud sculpture, Moxeke: IV, III, V, and VI. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Figs. 30, 29, 31, and 27-VI.) *e*. Carved bone, Pallka. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Fig. 22.)

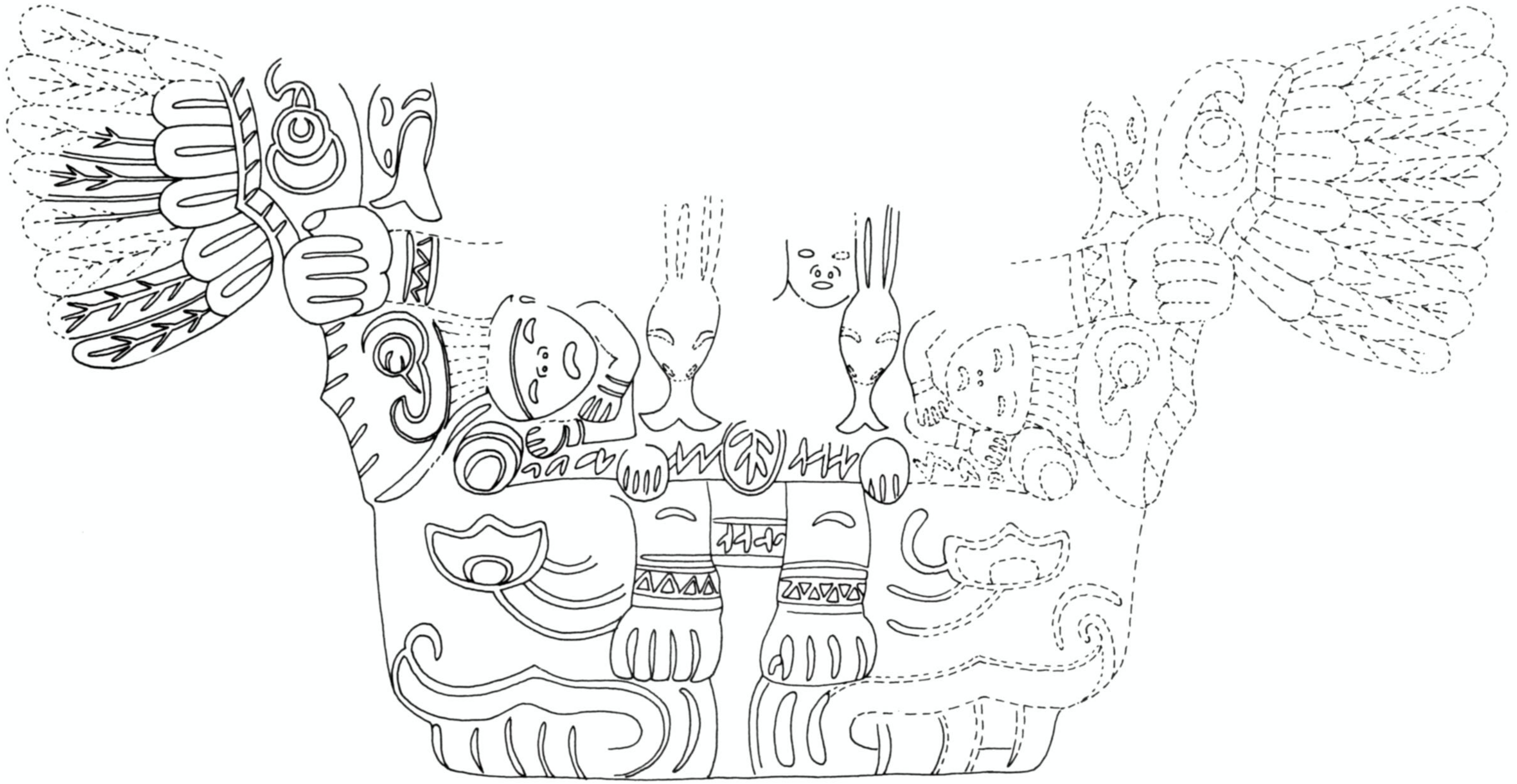
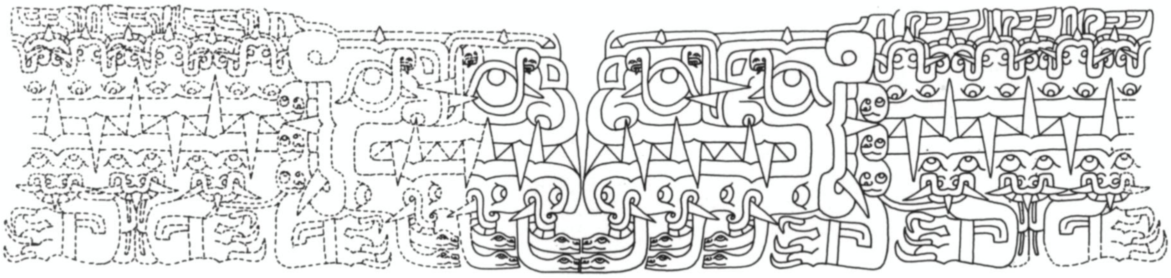
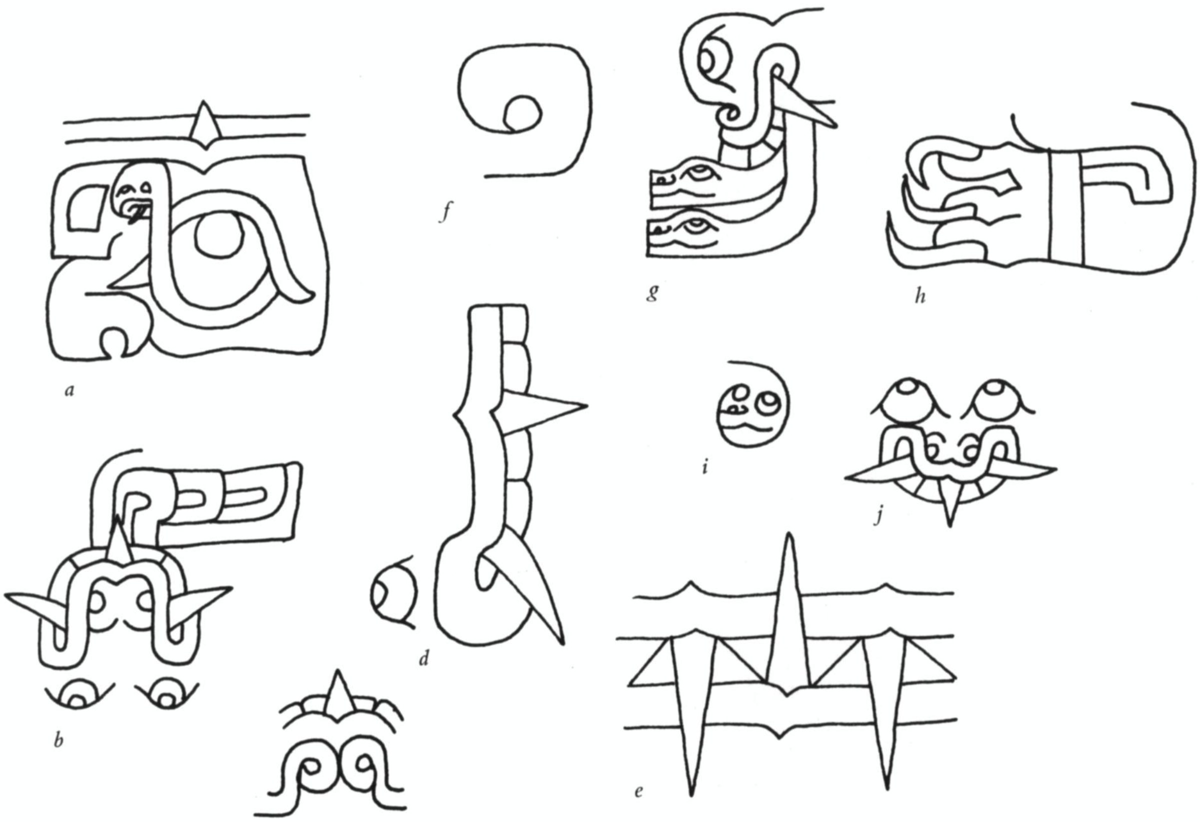


Fig. 8 Modeled ceramic vase, Ancón. (Adapted from Rosas n.d.:Pl. XIII.)

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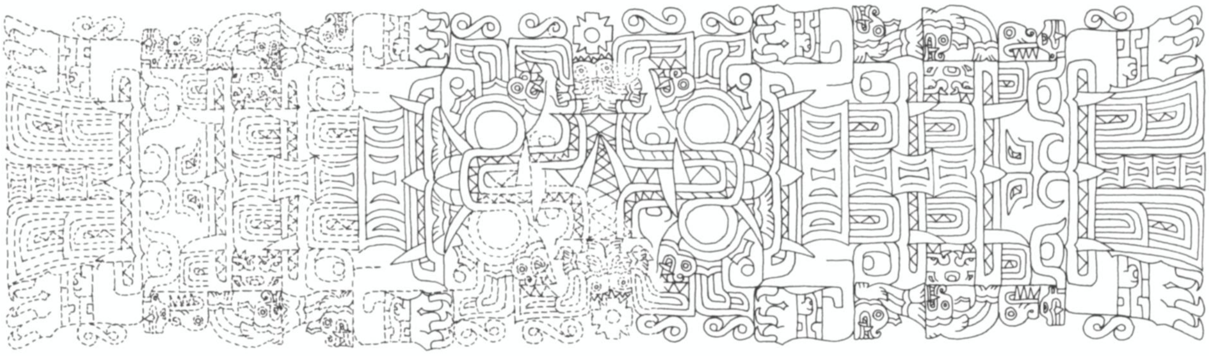
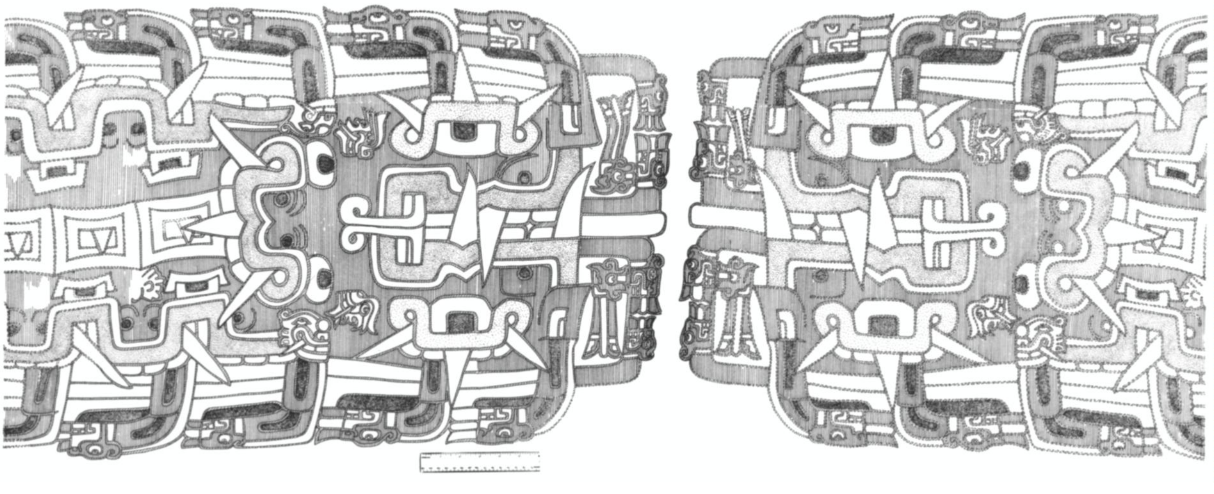


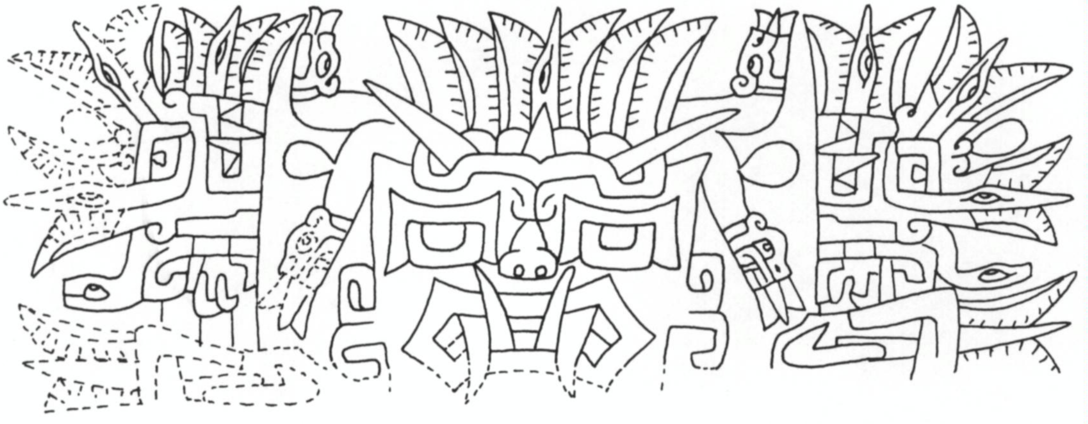
Fig. 9 (opposite, above) "Lintel of the Jaguars," Monumental Stairway, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Rowe 1967: Fig. 19.)

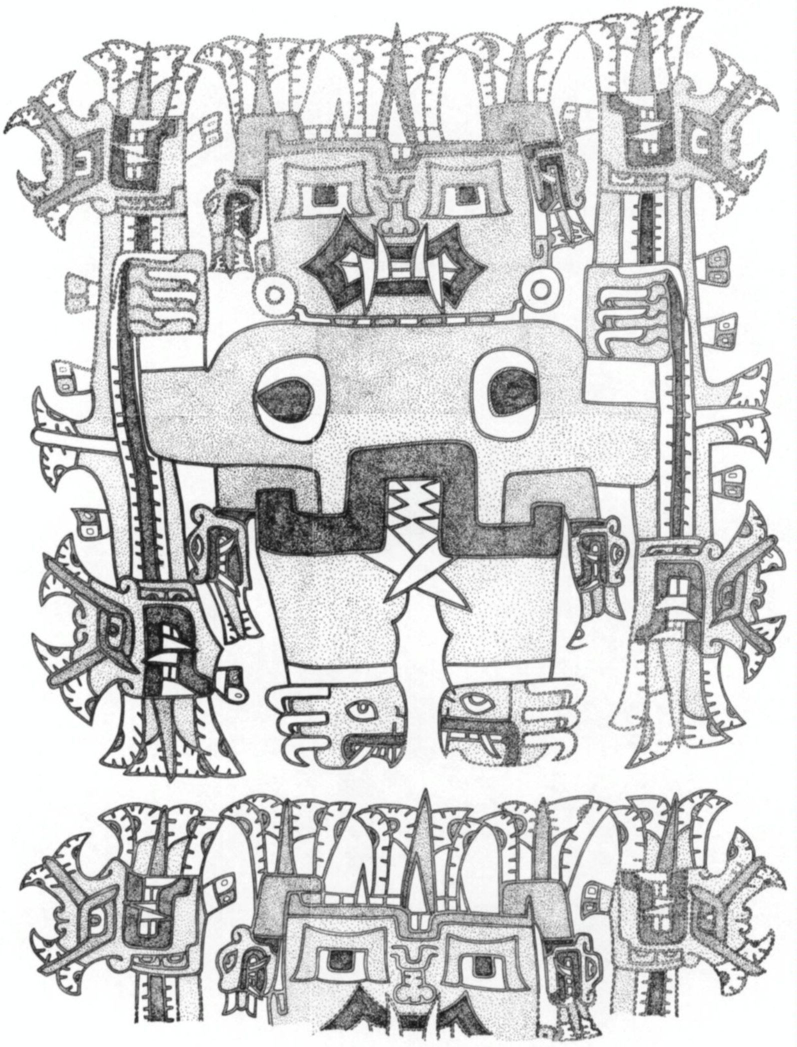
Fig. 10 (opposite, below) Design element modules of the "Lintel of the Jaguars," Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Rowe 1967: Fig. 19.)

Fig. 11 (above) Yauya Stela, Yauya. (Adapted from Rowe 1962: Fig. 31 and from a drawing by Pablo Carrera M. distributed by the National Museum [Espejo 1964].)

Fig. 12 (below) Painted textile, recent find in the Ica Valley, 7-8 km. south of Necropolis, now on loan to the Museo Amano, Lima. (Adapted from a tracing of the original specimen.)







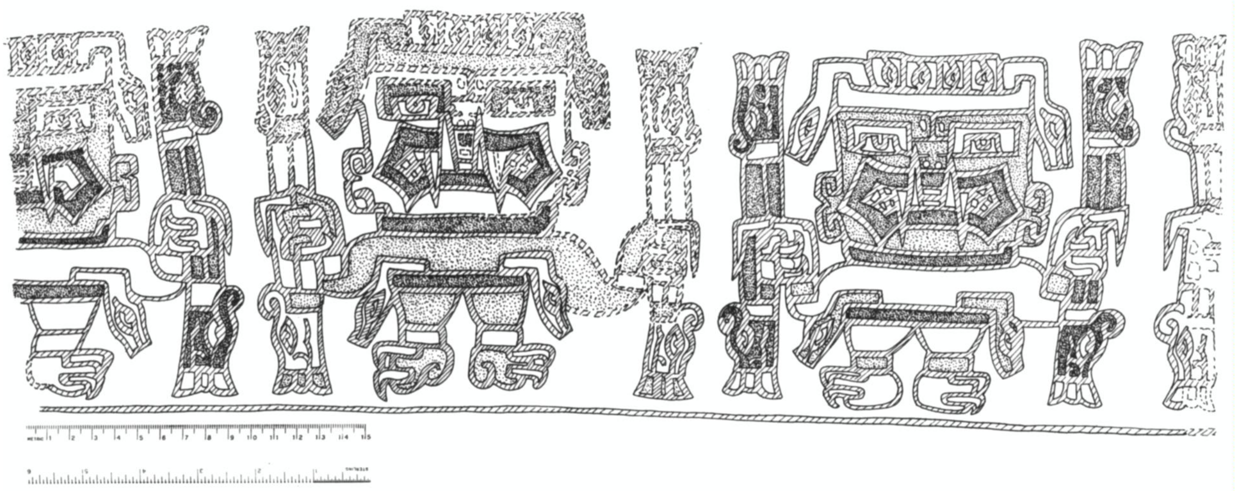
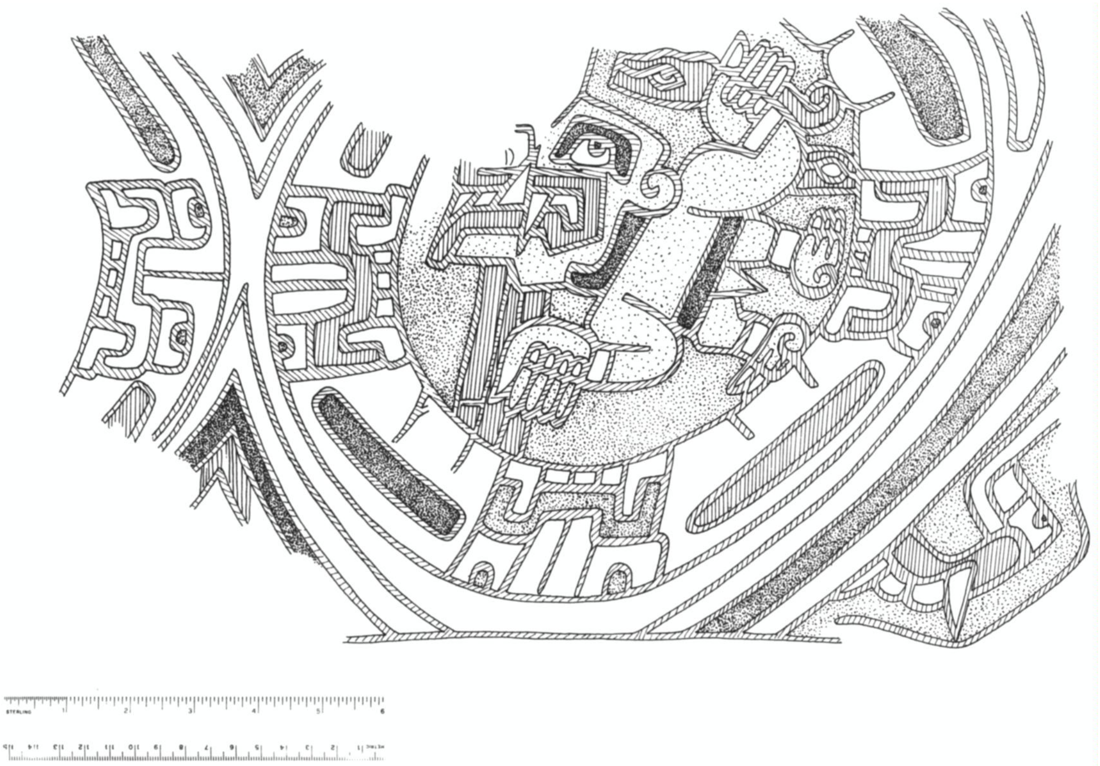


Fig. 13 (opposite, above) Painted textile, Callango, Ica Valley. (Adapted from Rowe 1962: Fig. 29.)

Fig. 14 (opposite, below) Painted textile of the same type as Fig. 13, recent find in the Ica Valley, 7-8 km. south of Necropolis, now on loan to the Museo Amano, Lima. The original border had tassles fringing the right and bottom edges. (Adapted from a tracing of the original specimen.)

Fig. 15 (above) Painted textile, recent find in the Ica Valley, 7-8 km. south of Necropolis, now on loan to the Museo Amano, Lima. (Adapted from a tracing of the original specimen.)

Fig. 16 (below) Painted textile, recent find in the Ica Valley, 7-8 km. south of Necropolis, now on loan to the Museo Amano, Lima. (Adapted from a tracing of the original specimen.)



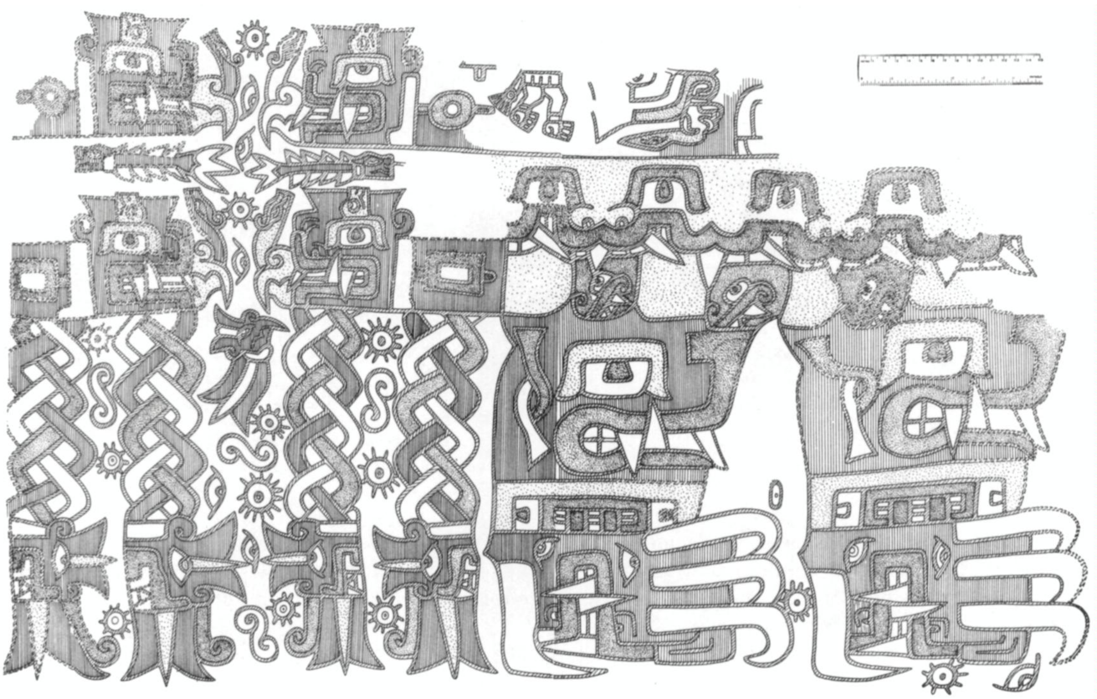
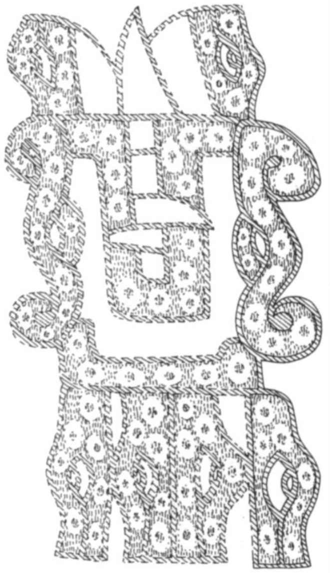
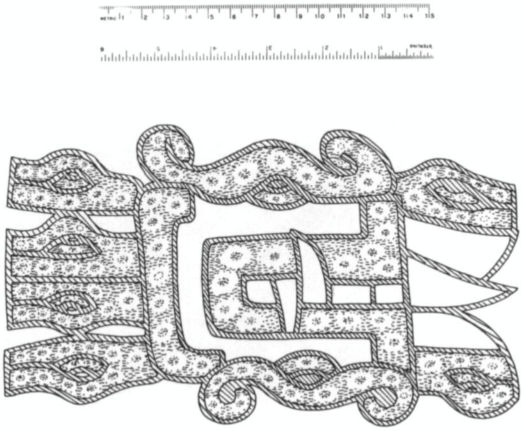


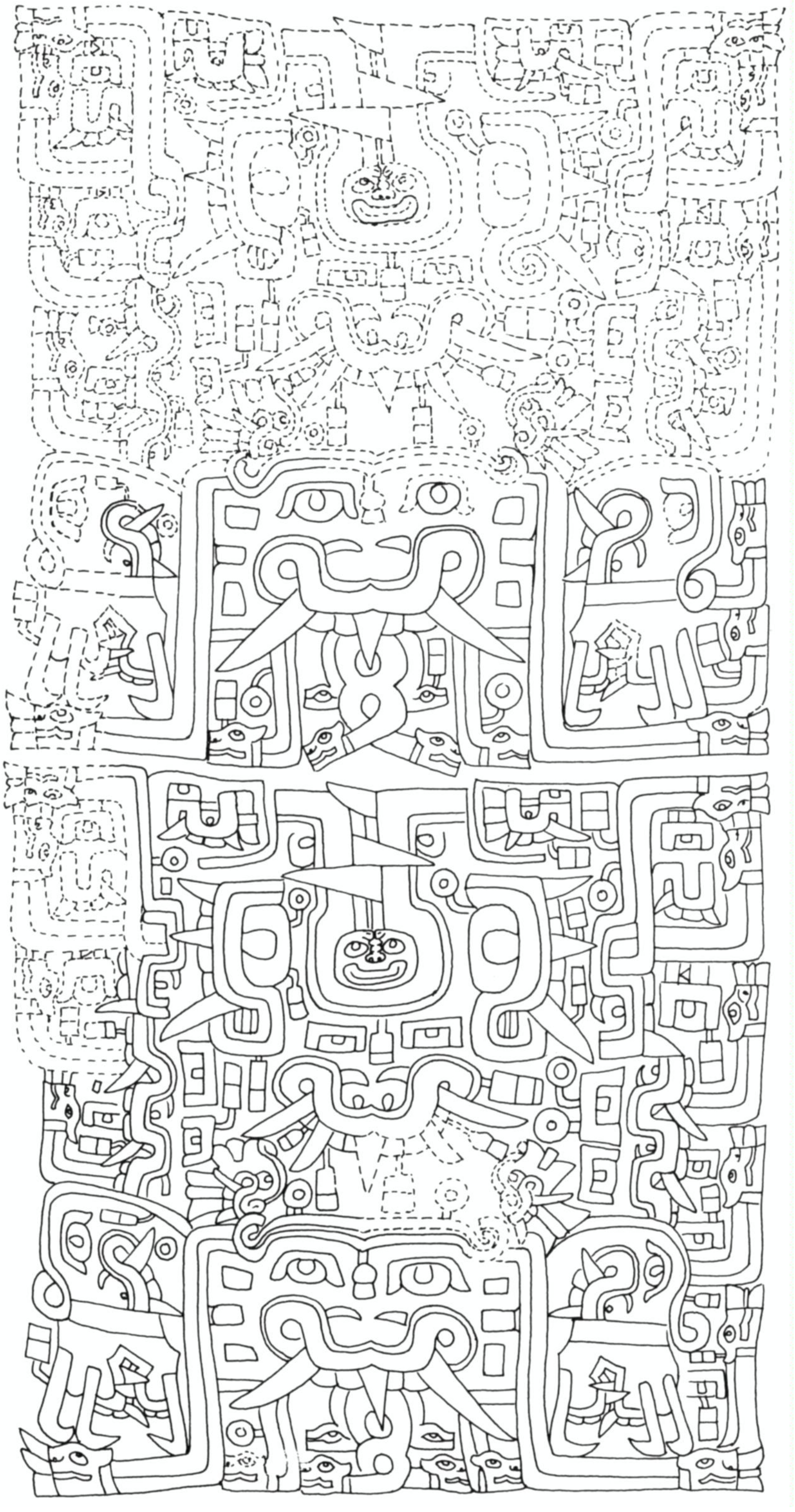
Fig. 17 (above) Painted textile, recent find in the Ica Valley, 7-8 km. south of Necropolis, now on loan to the Museo Amano, Lima. (Adapted from a tracing of the original specimen.)

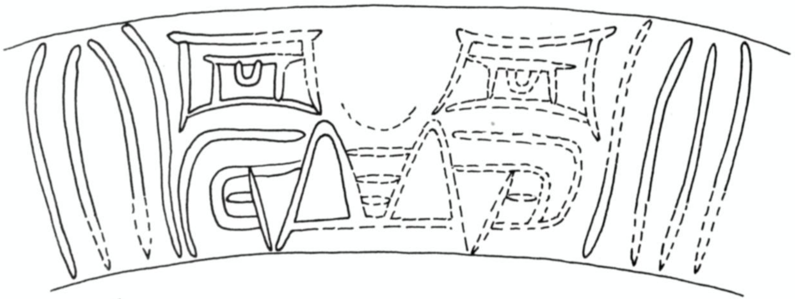
Fig. 18 (below) Painted textile, recent find in the Ica Valley, 7-8 km. south of Necropolis, now on loan to the Museo Amano, Lima. The circles were tie-dyed before the textile was painted. (Adapted from a tracing of the original specimen.)

Fig. 19 (opposite) Painted textile, Callango, Ica Valley. (Adapted from Rowe 1962: Fig. 30.)









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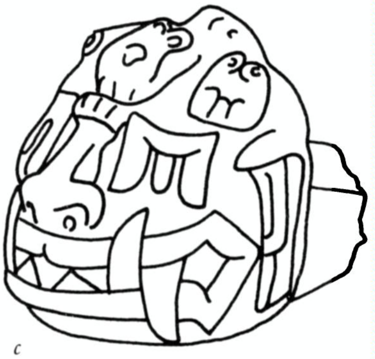

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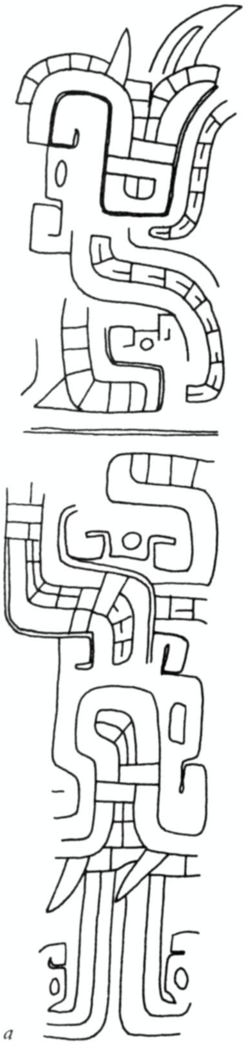

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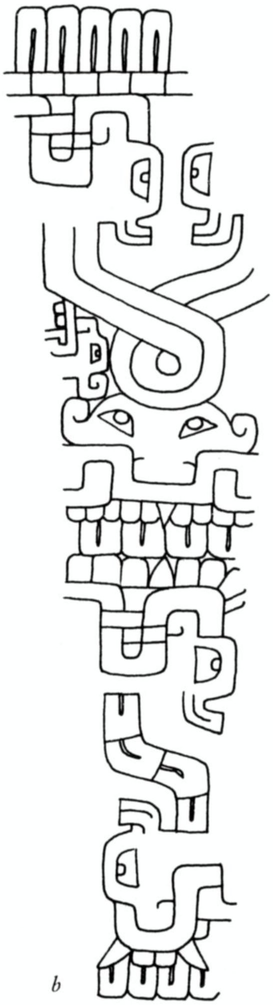

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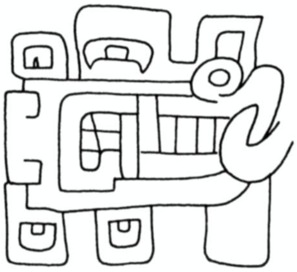

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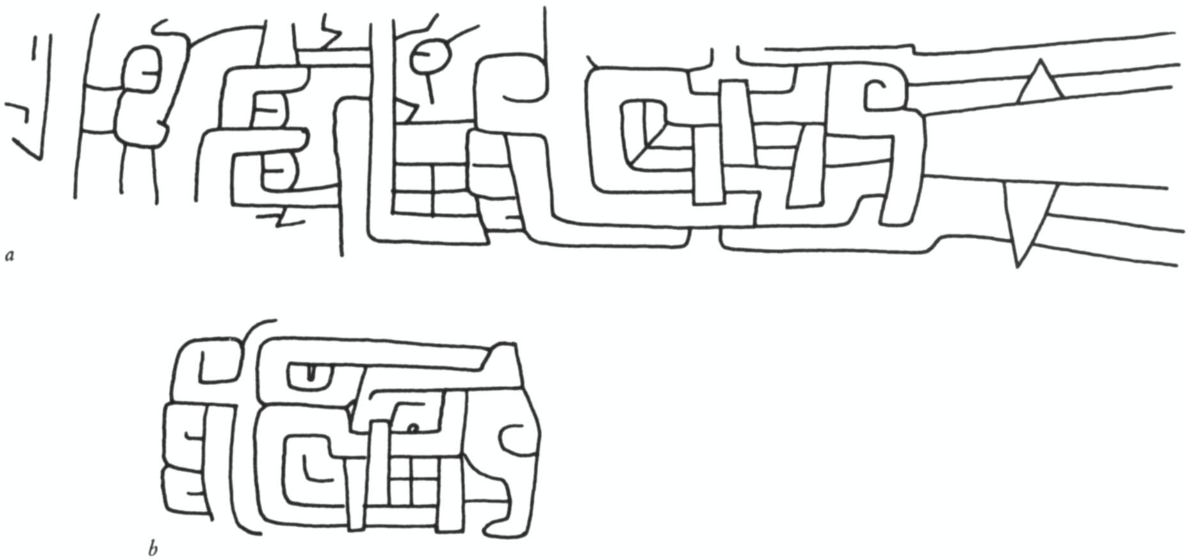
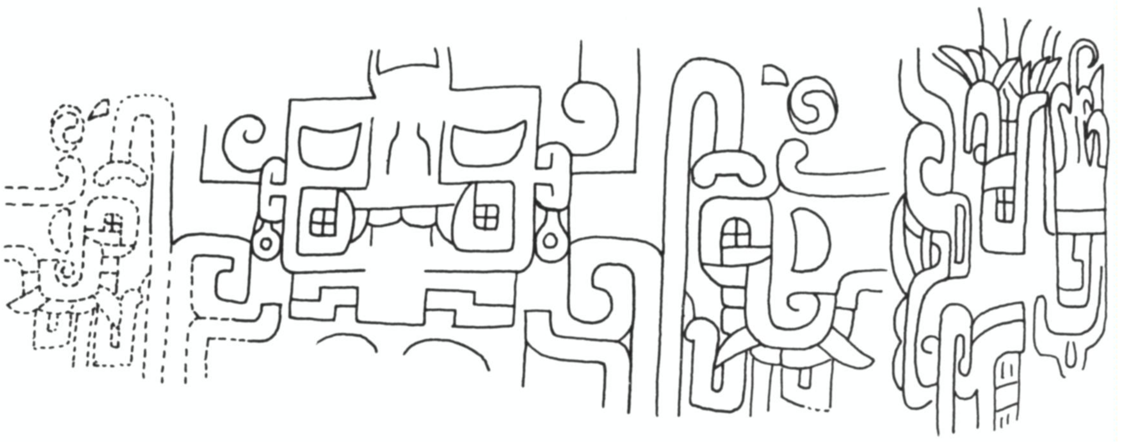


Fig. 20 (opposite, above) *a,b*. Kotosh Well-Polished ceramic vessels, Kotosh. (Adapted from Izumi and Sono 1963: Pls. 127-1 and 127-2.) *c*. Small tenoned stone head, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Fig. 96.)
Fig. 21 (opposite, below) Larco Herrera Museum, Lima. (Drawings from the original specimens.) *a,b*. Carved bone. *c*. Small double-chambered stone bowl. *d*. Spindle whorl.
Fig. 22 (above) Carved bone spatulas, found in Salinar culture graves, Chicama Valley, now in the Larco Herrera Museum, Lima. (Drawings from the original specimens.)
Fig. 23 (below) Gotush Obelisk, Gotush. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Pl. XLIII.)



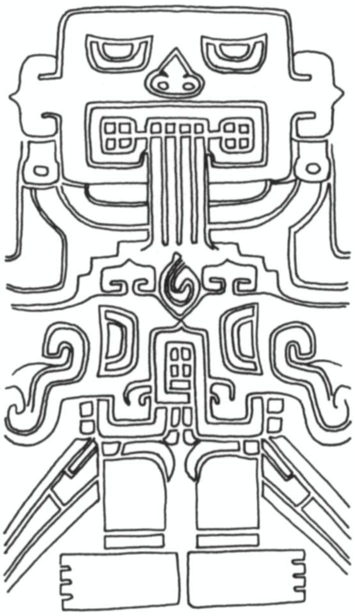
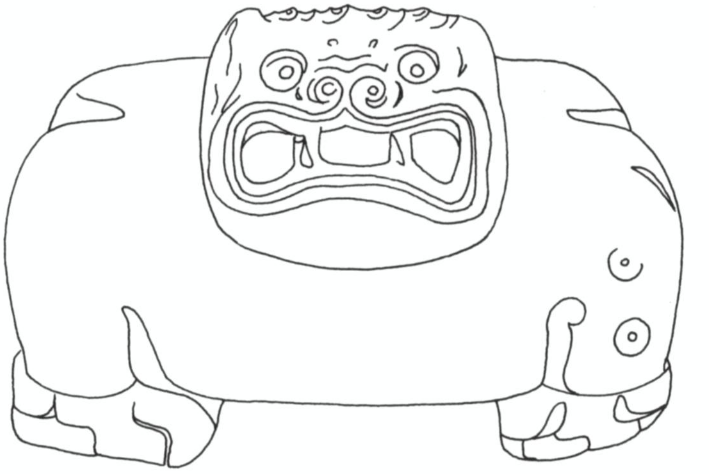
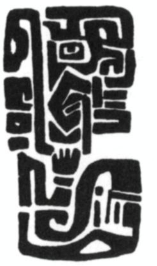
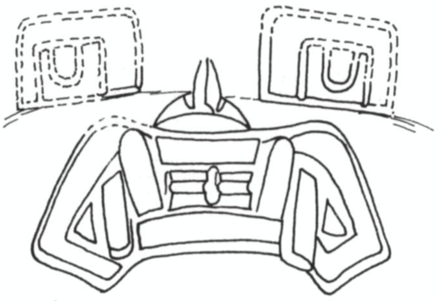


Fig. 24 Pacopampa. *a.* "Feline of Pacopampa" Stela. (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1945:3.) *b.* Jaguar sculpture. This specimen is too eroded to seriate according to features. (Adapted from Sawyer 1968: No. 19.) *c.* Carved bone. (Rubbing of the original specimen collected by Rosas.) *d.* Modeled ceramic vessel, now in the National Museum, Lima. (Adapted from a photograph of the original specimen.)







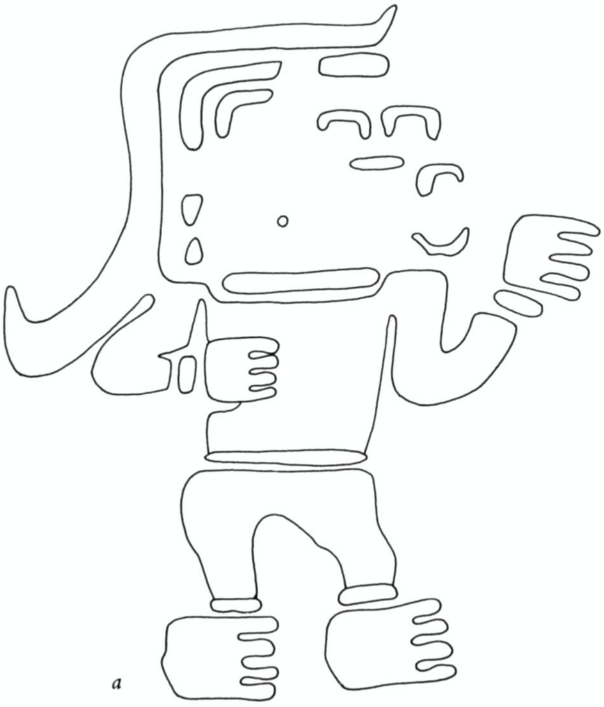

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Fig. 25 Polychrome wall paintings, Monte Calvario, Catache. (Adapted from Mejía Xesspe 1968: Figs. 5 and 2.)

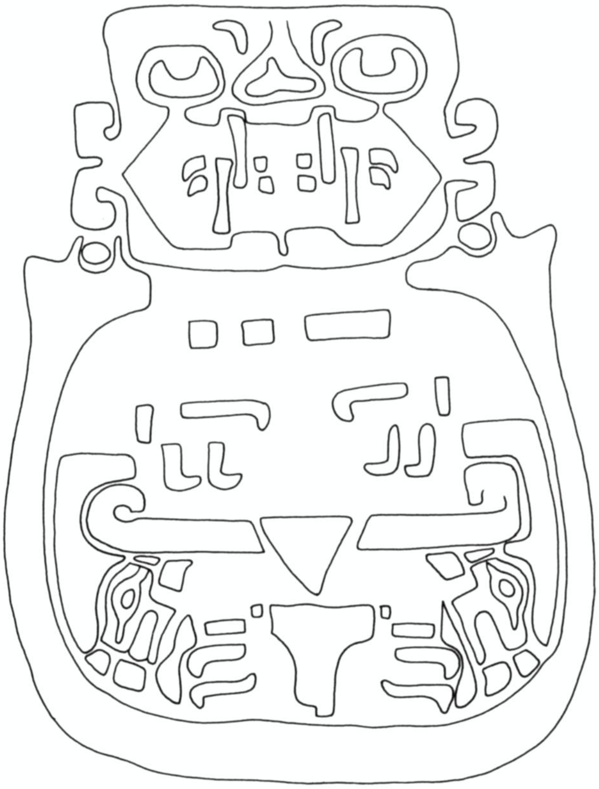
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Fig. 26 (right) Petroglyph from the *meseta*, Monte Calvario, Catache. (Adapted from Mejía Xesspe 1968: Fig. 10.)

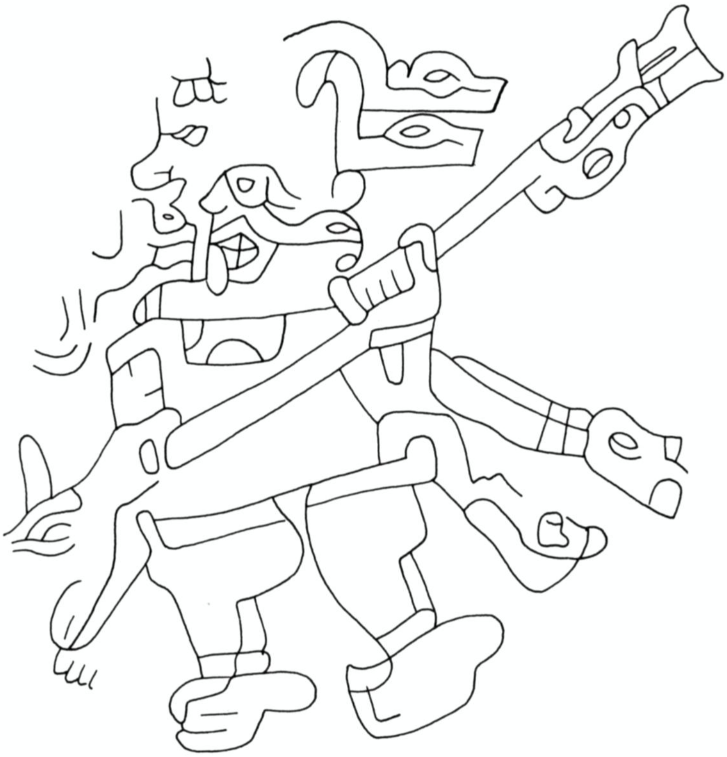
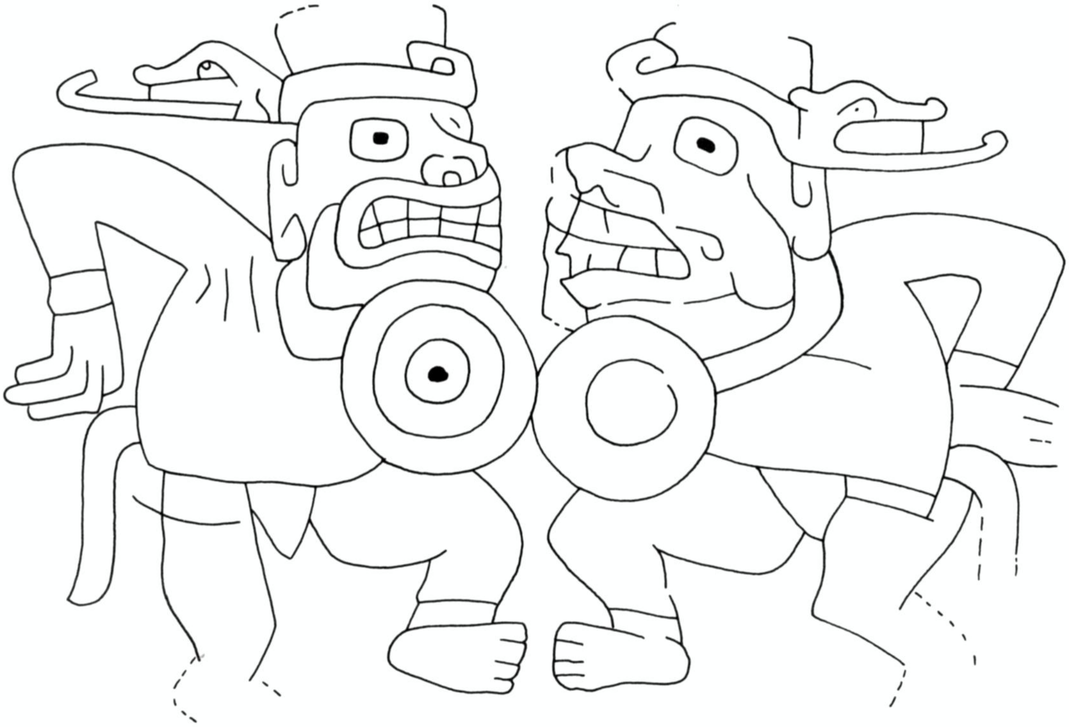
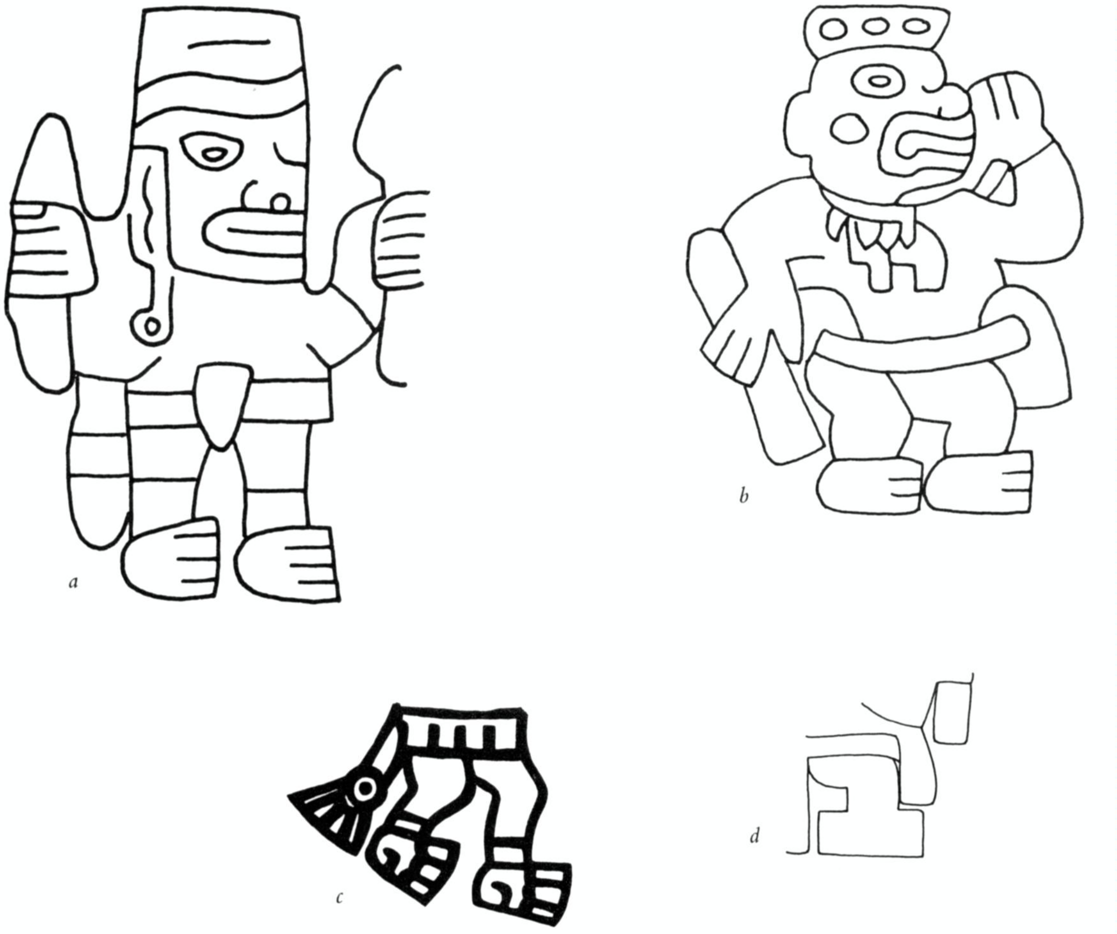


Fig. 27 (below) Petroglyph, Alto de la Guitarra, between the Virú and Moche Valleys. (Adapted from Kauffmann Doig 1971: Fig. 313 and Disselhoff and Linné 1960: Fig. 58.)





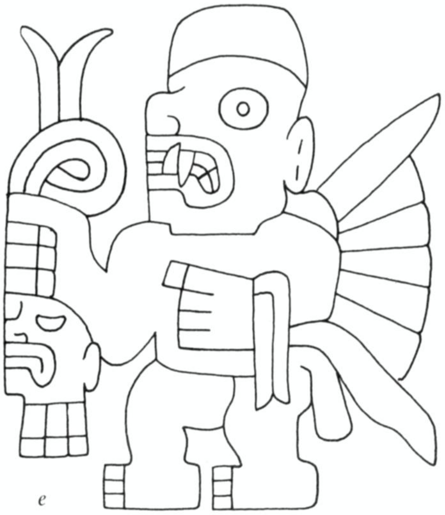


Fig. 28 *a*. Rectangular framed relief, Yura-yako, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Fig. 80.) *b,d*. Rectangular framed reliefs, temple, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Figs. 82 and 87.) *c*. Detail of the partially preserved human figure in the upper register of Fig. 17, Ica Valley. *e*. Rectangular framed relief, "Head-Bearer," Yura-yako, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Tello 1960: Fig. 81.)

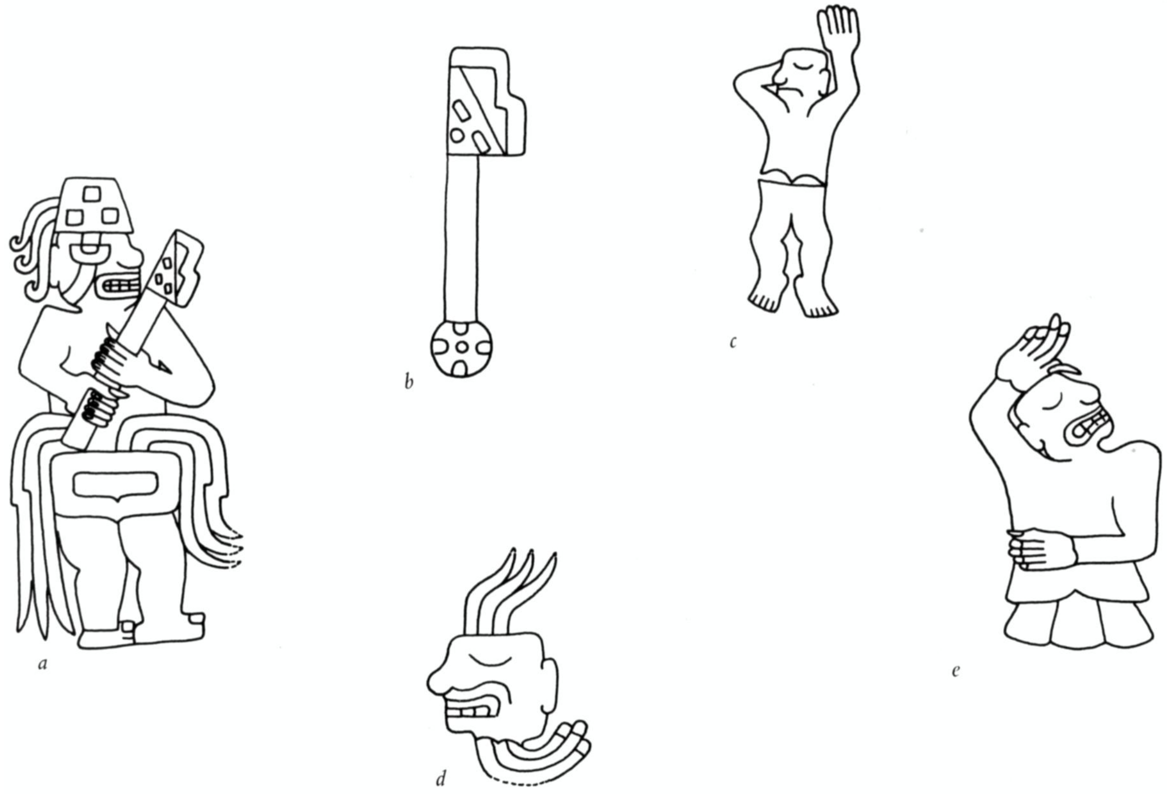


Fig. 29 Stone monoliths from the north facade of the temple, Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley, *a,e*. East side. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Figs. 57 and 59.) *b,c,d*. West side. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Figs. 72, 82, and 84.)

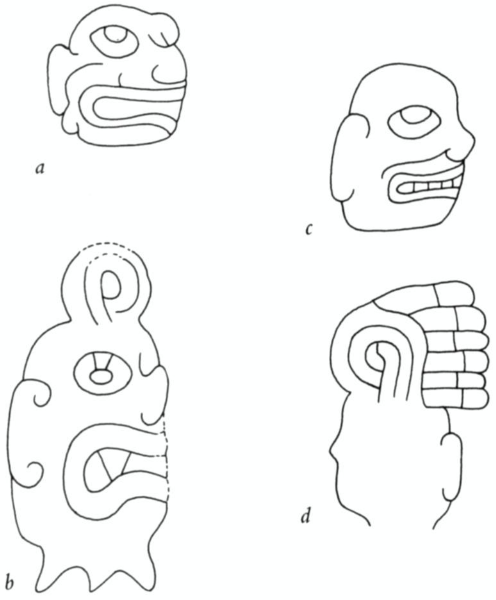


Fig. 30 Stone monoliths. *a,b*. Huaylas. These specimens can be seriated only in relation to Sechín and therefore cannot be listed in the seriation charts. (Adapted from Thompson 1962c: Figs. 1 and 2.) *c*. Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley. (Adapted from Mendoza and Román 1969: Fig. 13.) *d*. Lower part of temple. Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Fig. 98.)

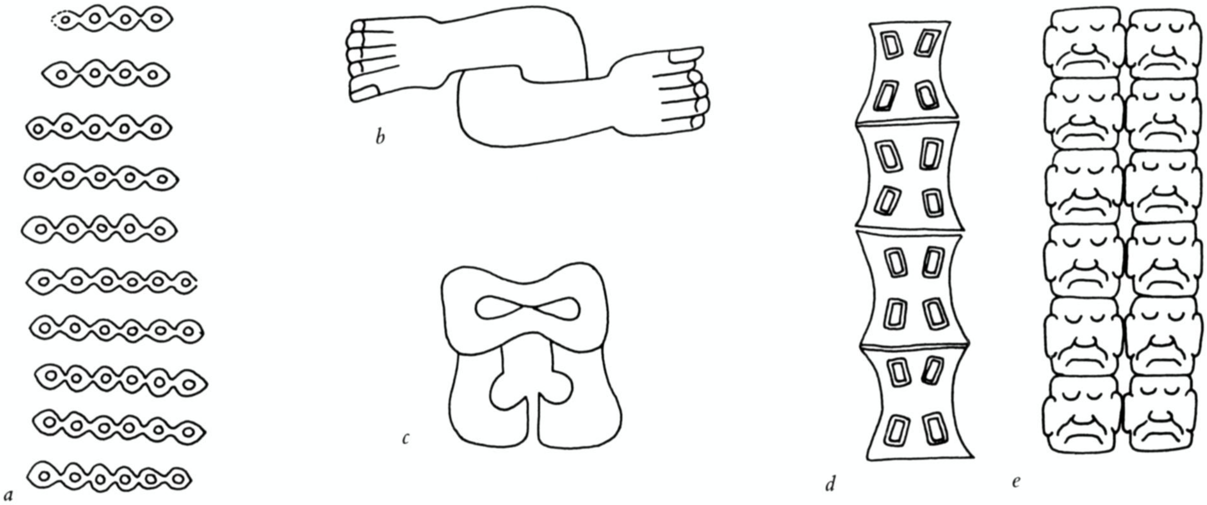


Fig. 31 Stone monoliths from the temple, Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley. *a,d,e.* East side of north facade. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Figs. 58, 55, and 56.) *b.* West side of north facade. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Fig 88.) *c.* Lower part of temple. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Fig. 103.)

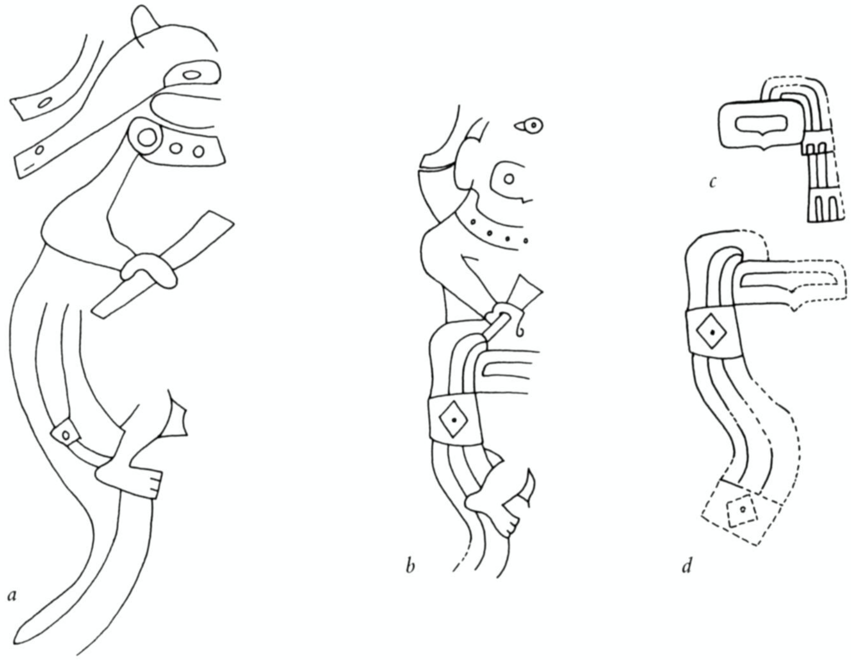
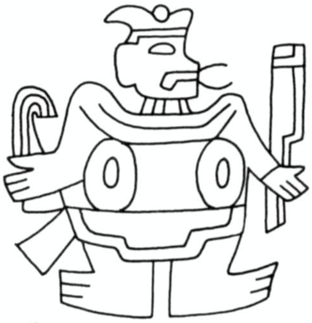


Fig. 32 *a.* Stone lintel, Siete Huacas, Nepeña Valley. This specimen can be seriated only in relation to Sechín and therefore cannot be listed in the seriation charts. (Adapted from Proulx 1968: Plan 11.) *b,d.* Stone carving. Cuchipampa (Cusipampa?), Nepeña Valley. This specimen can be seriated only in relation to Sechín and therefore cannot be listed in the seriation charts. (Adapted from Kauffmann Doig 1971: Fig. 303.) *c.* Stone monolith, west side of the north facade of the temple, Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley. (Adapted from Tello 1956: Fig. 77.)



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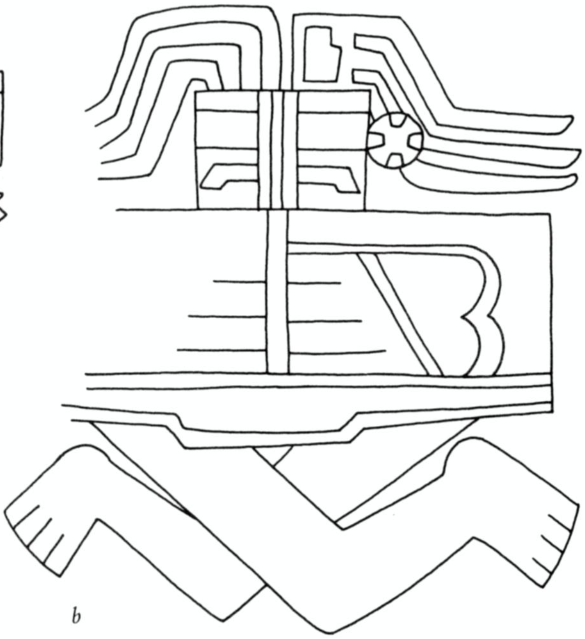

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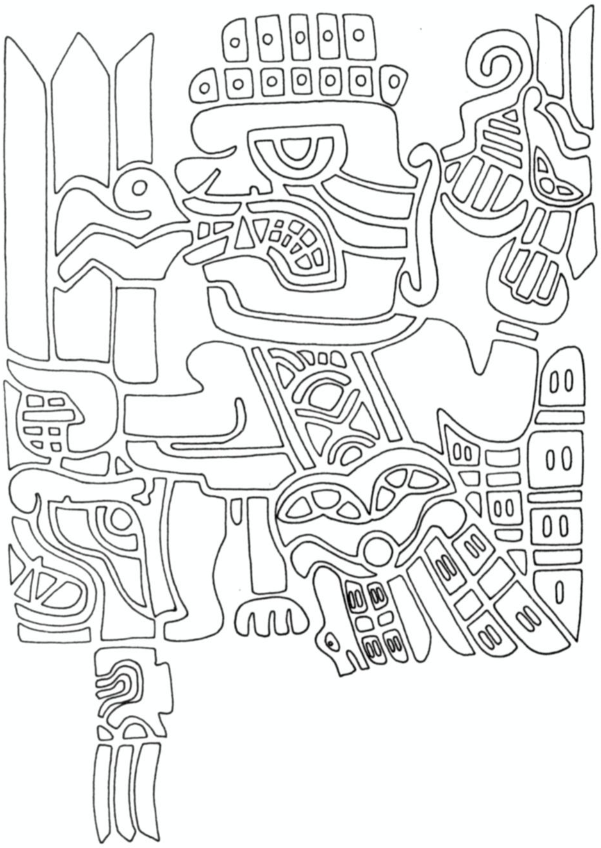


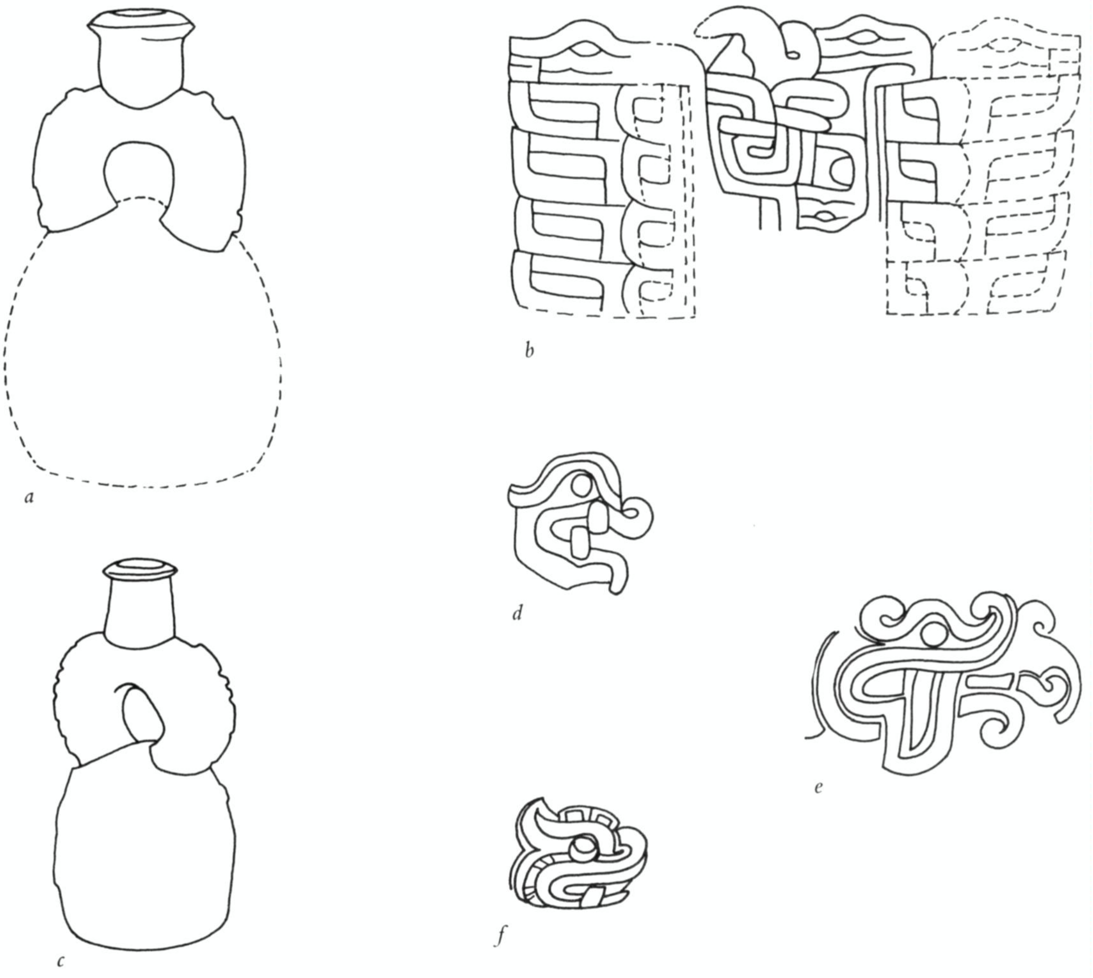


Fig. 33 (opposite, above) Stone mortars, Lambayeque Valley. Both of these specimens can be seriated only in relation to Sechín and therefore cannot be listed in the seriation charts. *a.* (Adapted from Carrión Cachot 1948: Pl. XI-5.) *b.* Perhaps the other side of *a.* (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1963: Fig. 32.)

Fig. 34 (opposite, below) Turquoise vase, Lambayeque Valley. (Adapted from Carrión Cachot 1948: Pl. XVIII-3).

Fig. 35 (above) Ceramic vessels. *a,b,f.* Rocas, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Lumbreras 1970: 138, 138, and 142.) *c,e.* Early Cupisnique, Chicama Valley. (Adapted from Sawyer 1968: No. 29.) *d.* Early Cupisnique, Chicama Valley. (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1938: Pl. III.)

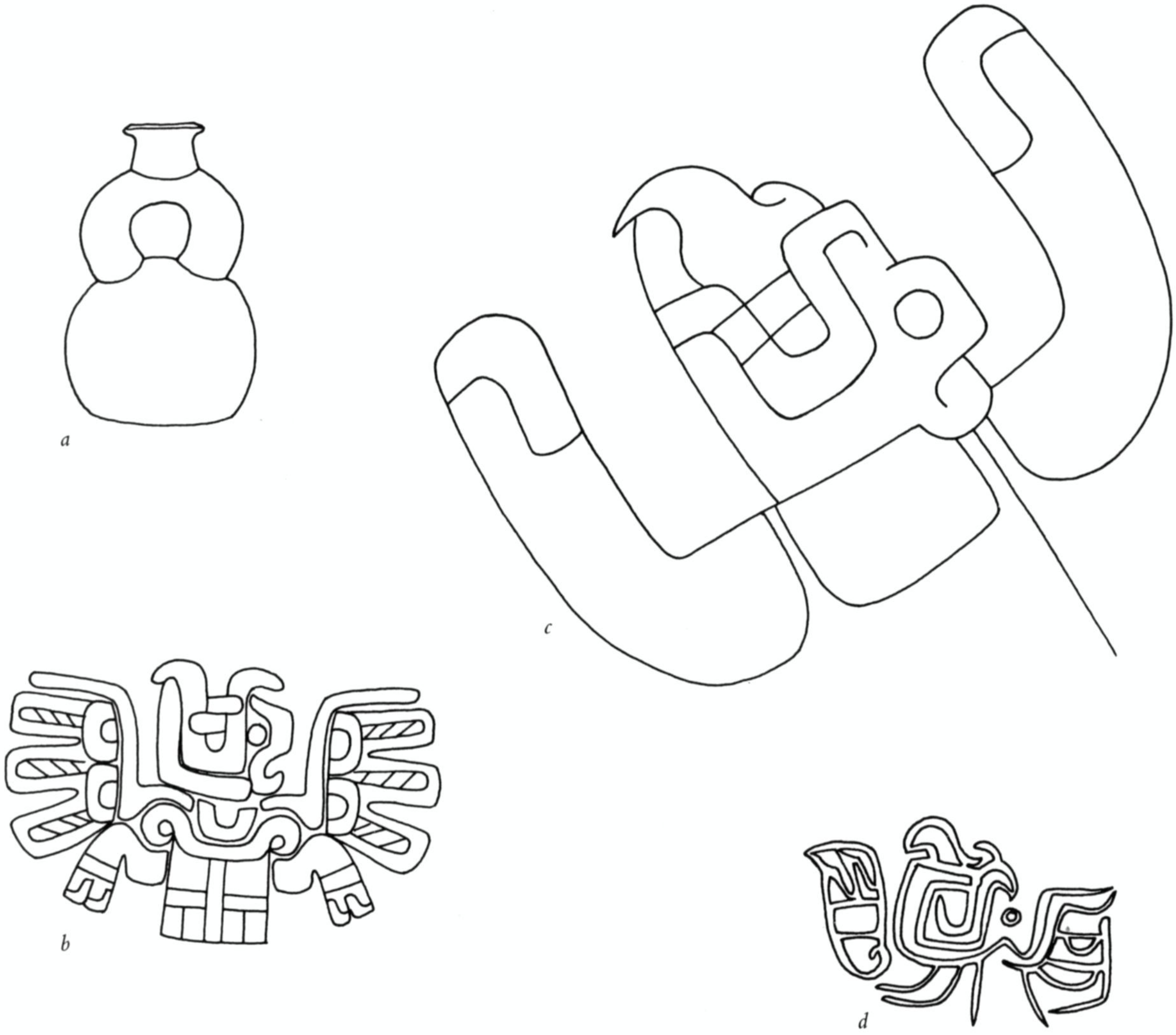


Fig. 36 Chicama Valley. *a.* Transitional Cupisnique ceramic vessel. (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1966: Fig. 9.) *b.* Cupisnique ceramic vessel. (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1966: Fig. 9 and 1963: Frontispiece.) *c,d.* Cupisnique ceramic vessels. (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1941: Figs. 23 and 210.)

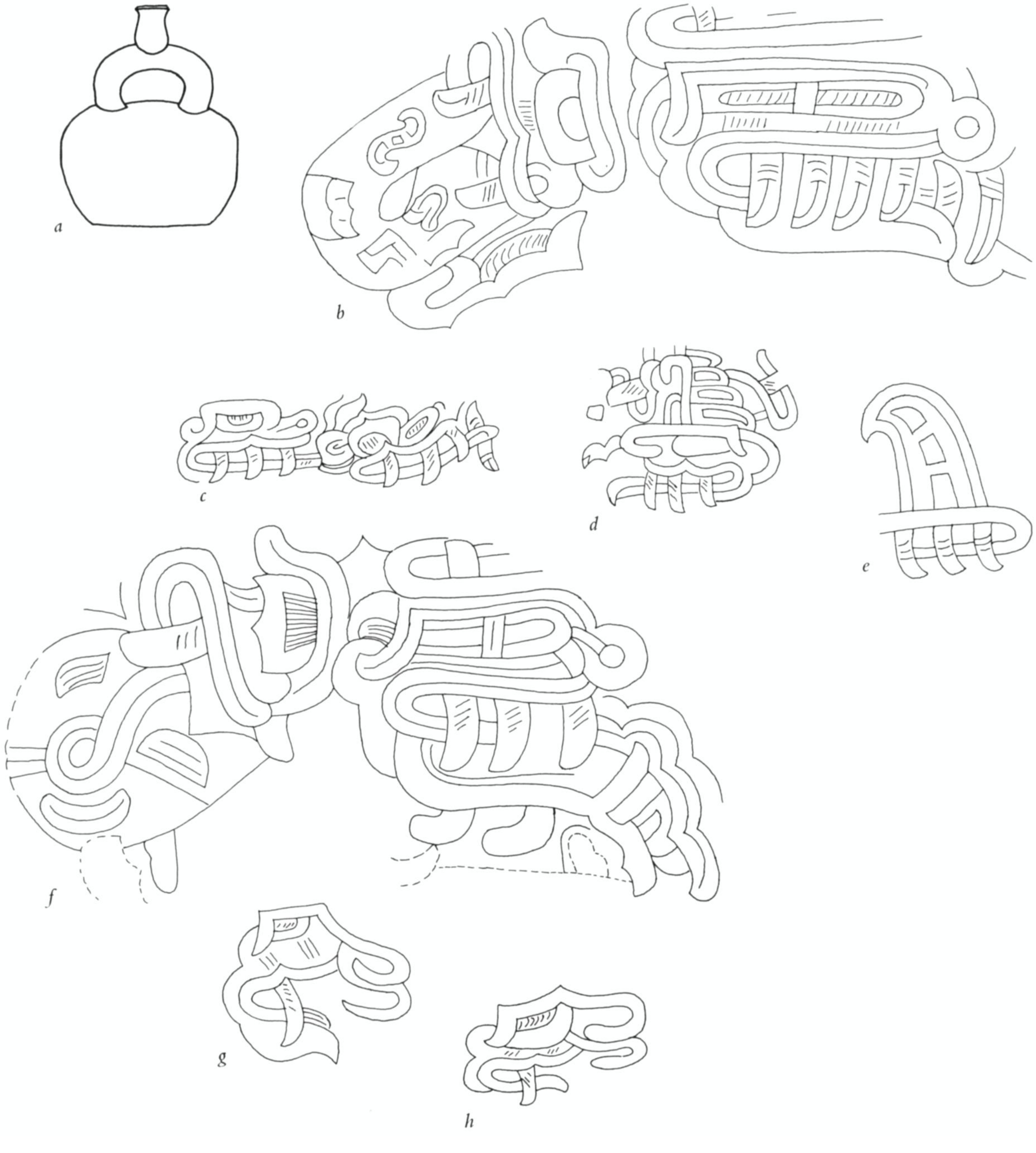


Fig. 37 Ofrendas vessels, Chavín de Huantar. *a*. (Adapted from Lumbreras 1970: 138.) *b–h*. (Adapted from Lumbreras and Amat 1966: Figs. 4, 3e, 3a, 7e, 5, 3b, 3c.)

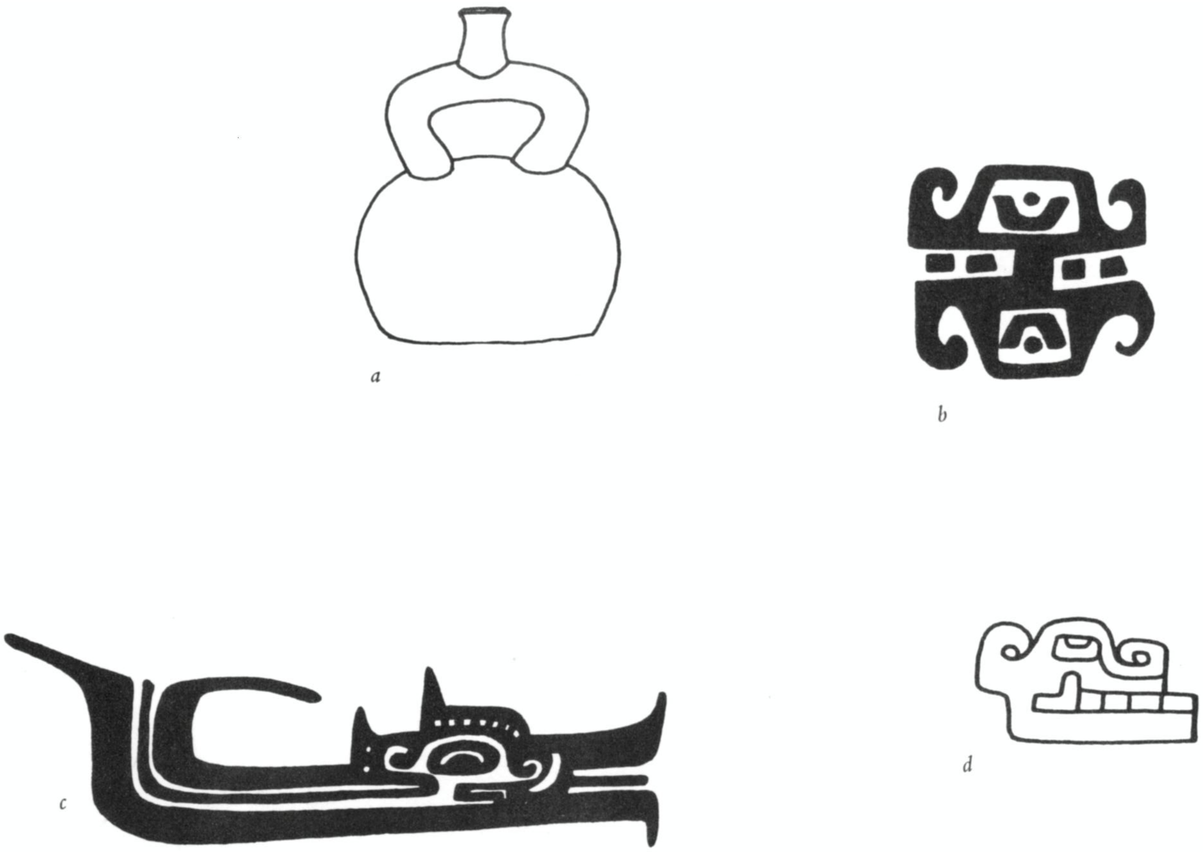
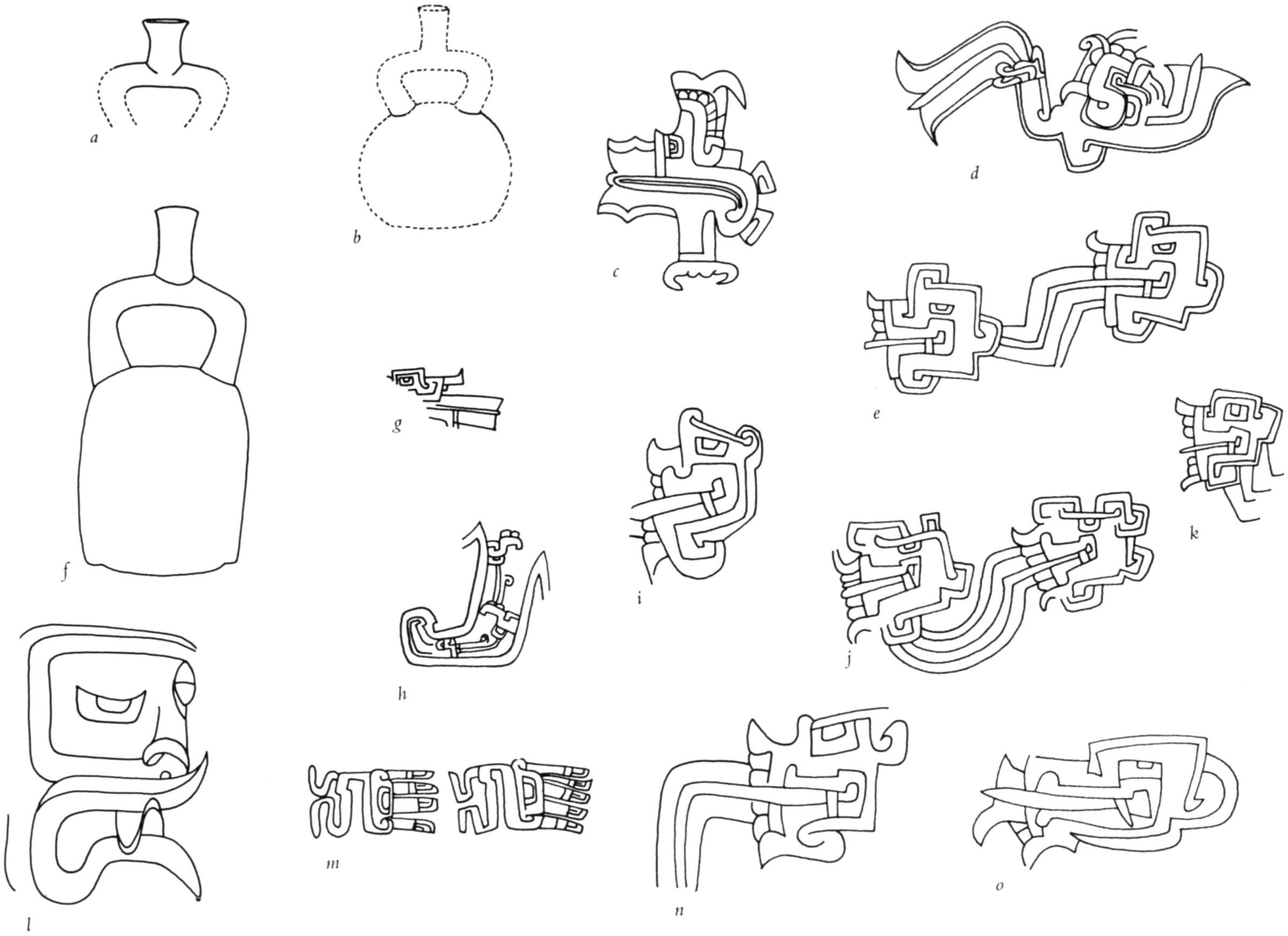


Fig. 38 (above) *a*. Mosna ceramic vessel, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Lumbreras 1970: 138.) *b*. Stirrup spout vessel (?), Chicama Valley (?). (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1941:83.) *c*. Mosna ceramic vessel, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Lumbreras and Amat 1966: Fig. 13b.) *d*. Black-and-White Portal column, Chavín de Huantar. (Adapted from Lumbreras 1970:96.)

Fig. 39 (below) By my placing all of these specimens together I am not necessarily assuming that they occur stylistically at the same time. In fact, Figs. *c–e* and *n–o* have been arranged into what might be a seriational sequence from more controlled to more cursive variants. *a,b,g*. Ceramic vessels, Ancón. (Adapted from Rosas n.d.: Pls. XIV4, XIV6, and XIV6.) *c–f, h–o*. Ceramic vessels, Chicama Valley. (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1941: Fig. 110, frontispieces to Capítulos VI and V, Fig. 54, frontispieces t Capítulos I, VII, and IV, p. 219, Fig. 212, and frontispieces to Capítulos IV, VII, and II.)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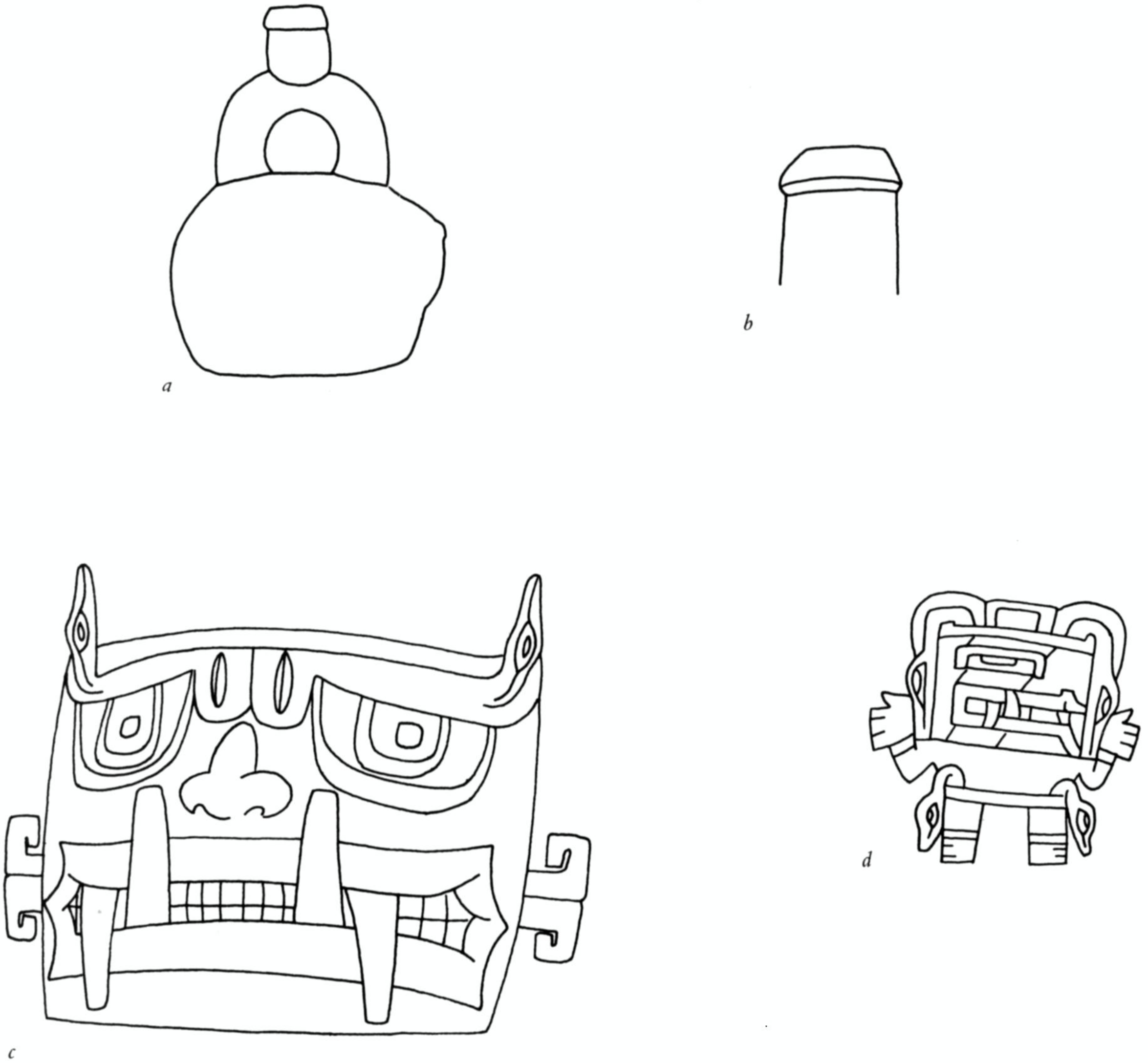

Fig. 40 Ceramic vessels, Ica Valley. *a*. Phase 1, Callango. (Adapted from Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson 1964: Fig. 1a.) *b,c*. (Adapted from Ubbelohde-Doering 1952: Pl. 235.) *d*. Phase 6, Callango. (Adapted from Rowe 1962: Fig. 52.)

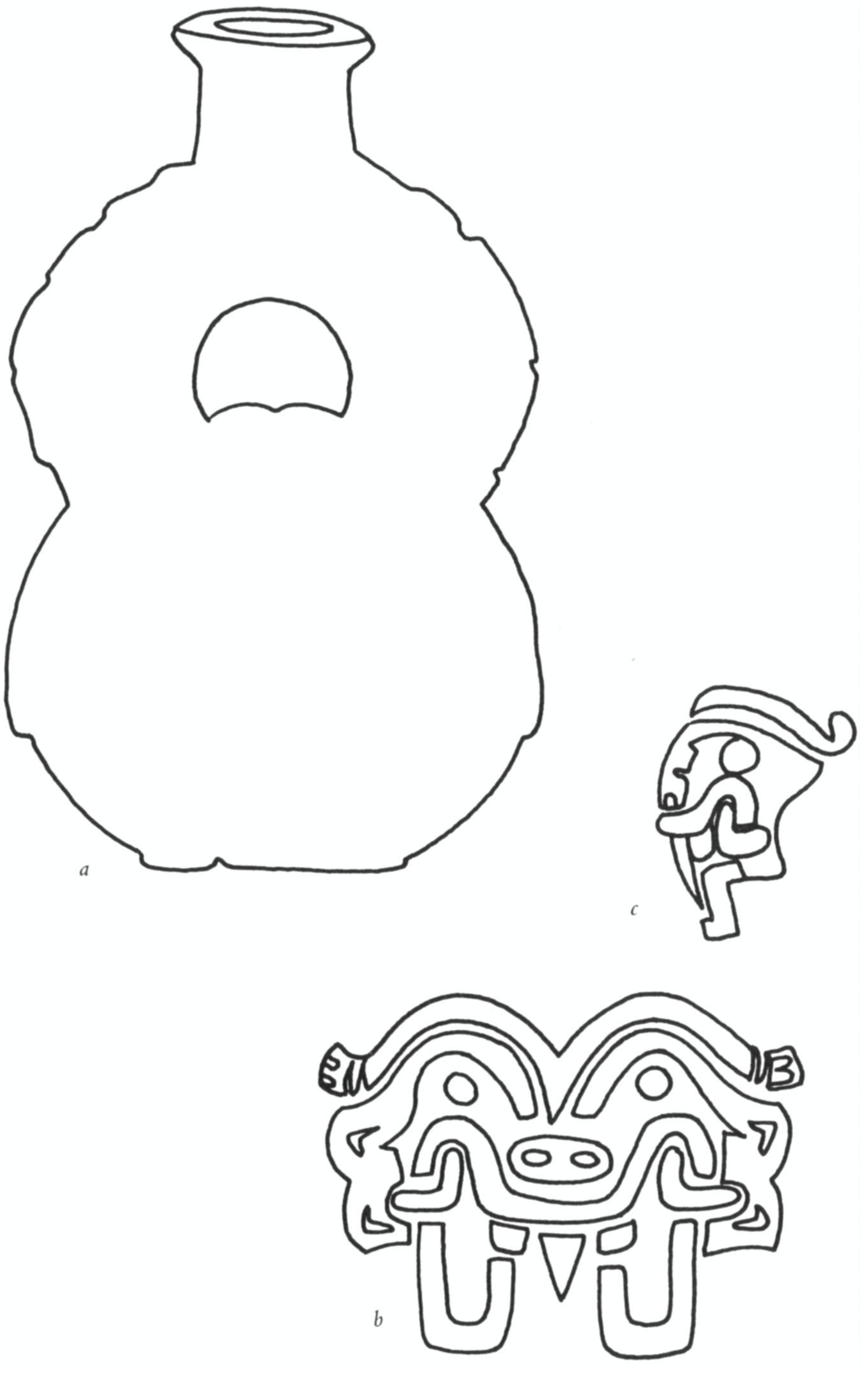

Fig. 41 Ceramic vessel, Chicama Valley (?). (Adapted from Larco Hoyle 1941: Fig. 211.)

CHART I

PHASE A-B

FIG.	M	SOURCE	PHASE	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I0	II	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8	I9	20	2I	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	3I	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	4I	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
	S	(Tello I960:I75 fig.30)	AB-I	○	○	○		○	○		○		○	○	○						○			○		○			○	○			○	○	○	○				○		○									○		
Ia,b	S	(Rowe I967 figs. I2,I3)	AB		○		○	○	○			○			○		○	○	○	○	○	○						○		○					○				○		○												
	S	(Rowe I962- Cover)	AB	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○			○		○		○	○	○	○	○				○	○	○						○	○	○	○															
	S	(Tello I960:233 fig.65)	AB												○										○			○			○																						
	S	(Tello I960:232 fig.64)	AB			○									○						○				○			○		○																							
	S	(Tello I960:30I fig.I28)	AB-2		○												○		○	○	○				○			○			○	○																					
	S	(Tello I960:300 fig.I27)	AB		○												○			○	○		○							○																							
	S	(Sawyer I966:II fig.3)	AB					○				○			○						○							○																									
	S	(Rowe I967:I00 fig.II)	AB	○			○	○	○		○				○		○			○	○								○	○									○		○										○		
	S	(Tello I960:222 fig.56)	AB	○		○											○			○	○																															
	S	(Tello I960:292 fig.I22)	AB	○							○										○								○																							
	S	(Kauffman I970:225 fig.265)	AB						○						○														○																							
	S	(Tello I960:254 fig.90)	AB	○		○		○								○												○								○																	
	S	(Tello I960:256 fig.9I)	AB		○											○													○																							
	S	(Tello I960:257 fig.92)	AB		○				○		○					○												○	○																							
	S	(Tello I960:295 fig.I23)	AB						○								○			○	○																															
	S	(Tello I960:267 fig.99)	AB		○			○											○		○								○	○																						
	S	(Tello I960:249 fig.83)	AB					○				○				○														○					○						○												
	S	(Tello I960:259 fig.93)	AB	○					○												○														○						○												
	S	(Tello I960:297 fig.I24)	AB								○																													○													
	S	(Tello I960:263 fig.95)	AB		○																							○							○																		
	S	(Tello I960:289 fig.I20)	AB					○							○						○								○								○																
	S	(Tello I960:288 fig.II9)	AB	○				○				○			○						○															○	○																
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	S	(Lumbreras I970:I05)	AB													○																																			
	S	(Rowe I962:I2 fig.I4)	AB-C		○			○															○						○							○		○														
	S	(Bennett I954 fig.22)	AB-C												○																						○									○							
5	S	(Kauffman I97I fig.268)	AB-C												○																															○							
	S	(Tello I960:260 fig.94)	C		○																															○										○							
2a,b,c	S	(Tello I960 fig.3I-I,II)	C-3			○																	○								○	○									○		○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○		○	○
4a	S	(Ayers I96I)	C		○	○									○					○							○								○	○				○					○	○				○			
3a,b	S	(Tello I960:300 fig.I26)	C			○		○																					○		○														○			○					
4c	S	(Tello I960:250 fig.85)	C																																											○							
4b	S	(Rowe I962 fig.I7)	C																															○												○							
	S	(Tello I960:272 fig.I02)	C	○																								○							○																		
	S	(Tello I960:270 fig.I0I)	C		○																								○											○						○							
	S	(Rowe I962:7 fig.5)	C																																○											○							
	S	(Tello I960:277 fig.I07)	C		○																																			○						○							
	S	(Tello I960:279 fig.I09)	C																																											○							
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	S	(Tello I960:28I fig.II2)	C																																											○							
	S	(Tello I960:278 fig.I08)	C																																											○							
	S	(Tello I960:280 fig.II0)	C																																											○							
	S	(Tello I960:276 fig.I06)	C																																											○							
	C	(Lumbreras I970:I52)	C																												○	○												○										○
37b-h	C	(Lumbreras I966:I8I-I83)	C							○			○																			○									○			○						○	○		○	
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28b	S	(Tello I960:248 fig.82)	D																																																		
28a	S	(Tello I960:246 fig.80)	D																																																		
	S	(Tello I960:24I fig.74)	D																																																		
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	S	(Tello I960:205 fig.37)	D																										○																								
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20c	S	(Tello I960:264 fig.96)	D																																																		
	S	(Tello I960:243 fig.77)	D																																	○																	
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	S	(Tello I960:2I2 fig.43)	D			○																																														
38c	C	(Lumbreras I966 fig.I3)	D																																																		
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	S	(Tello I960:207 fig.39)	D																																																		
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28e	S	(Tello I960:247 fig.8I)	EF-7																																																		
	S	(Tello I960:244 fig.78)	EF																																																		
28d	S	(Tello I960:25I fig.87)	EF																																																		
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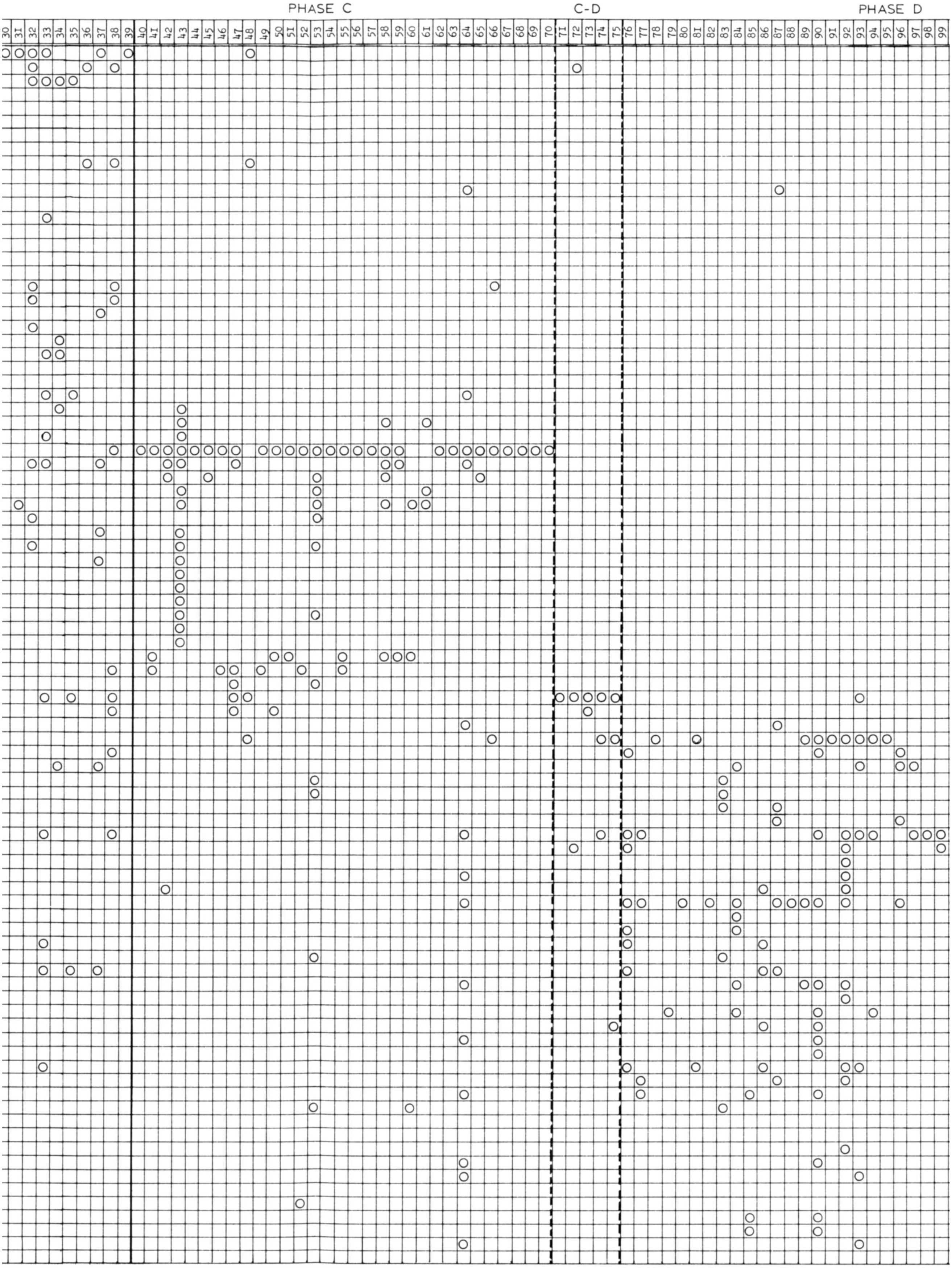
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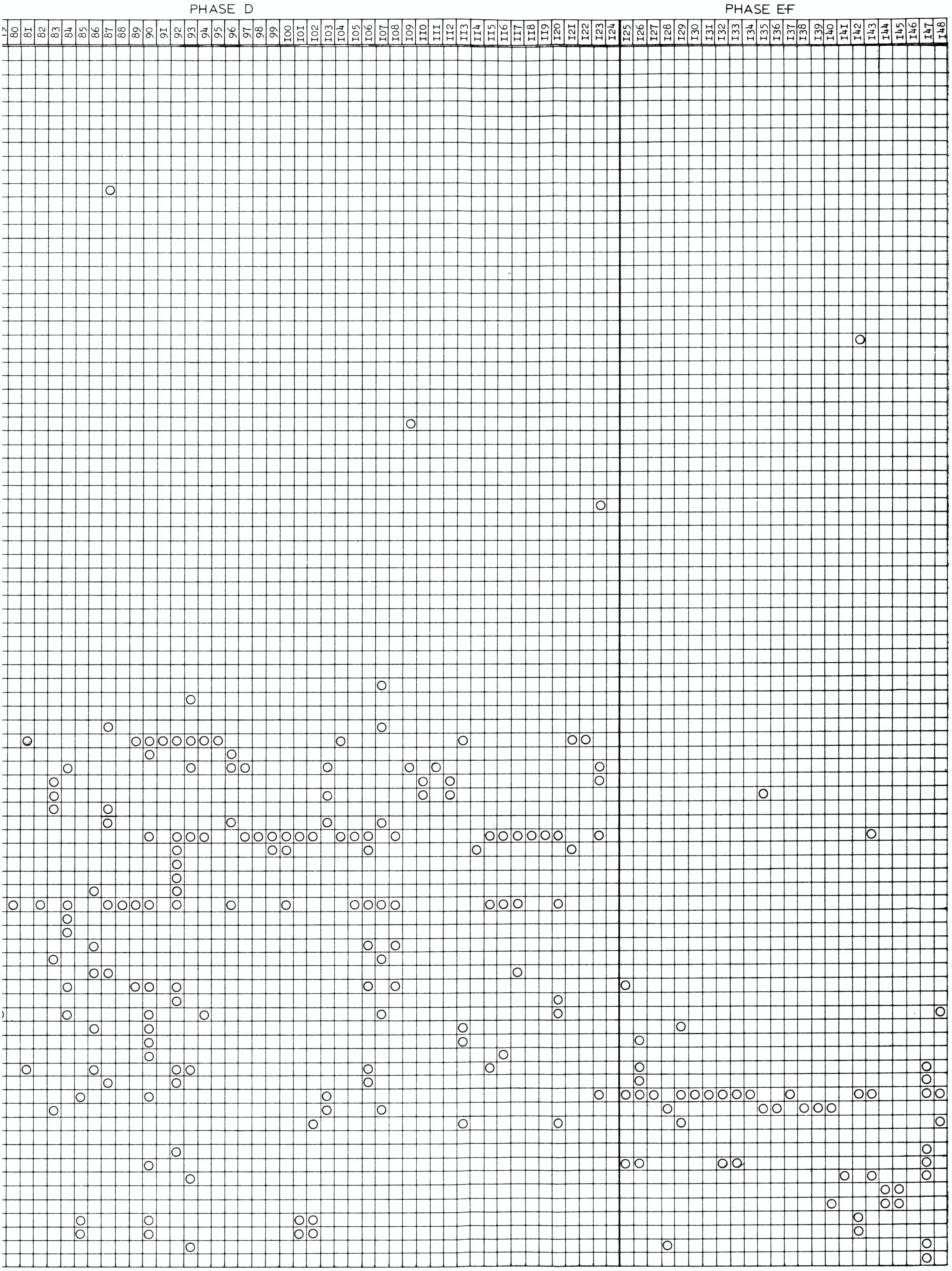
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CHART II

PHASE A-B

FIG.	M	SOURCE	PHASE	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	I0	II	I2	I3	I4	I5	I6	I7	I8	I9	20	2I	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	3I	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	4I	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
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7e	B	(Tello I956:48 fig.22)	C													○													○																			○					○				
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7a-d	MC	(Tello I956:6I-63)	C																																○						○		○									
		HUARA																																																			
6	B	(Tello I943)	C																																											○							○	
		CERRO BLANCO																																																			
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8	C	(Rosas I970 Lam. XVIII)	C																																										○								○	
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	C	(Rosas I970 Lam. XVI)	C																																																			○
	WT	(Willey & Corbett I963)	C																																												○						○	
	C	(Carrion I948 Lam. XXIVa)	C																																										○									
	C	(Carrion I948 Lam. XXIVk)	C																																																		○	
39g	C	(Rosas I970 Lam. XIV6)	D																																																		
		MONTE CALVARIO, CATACHE																																																			
	P	(Mejia I968:29 fig.I0)	D																																																		
	WP	(Mejia I968:20 fig.I)	D																																																		
25b	WP	(Mejia I968:22 fig.2)	D																																																		
	WP	(Mejia I968:23 fig.3)	D																																																		
	WP	(Mejia I968:24 fig.4)	D																																												○							
25a	WP	(Mejia I968:25 fig.5)	D																																																		
		LA COPA																																																			
	S	(Carrion I948 Lam.XX)	D-EF																										○																									
	S	(Carrion I948 fig.I7)	D-EF																																																		
	S	(Carrion I948 Lam. XXIa)	D-EF																																																		
	S	(Carrion I948 Lam. XXIb)	D-EF																																																		
		ALTO DE LA GUITARRA																																																			
27	P	(Kaufmann I970:245 fig.3I3)	D																																																		
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	M	(Rowe I962 fig.27)	D-EF																																																		
	M	(Lothrop I94I fig.28a)	EF																																																		
	M	(Lothrop I94I fig.28b)	EF																																																		
	S	(Larco I963 fig.32)	EF																																																		
34	S	(Carrion I948 Lam.XVIII)	EF																																																		
	M	(Lothrop I95I pl.4I)	D																																																		
	SH	(Rowe I962 fig.40)	C-D																																													○						
		LAMBAYEQUE-HACIENDA ALMENDRAL																																																			
	M	(Lothrop I94I fig.26c)	D																																																		
	M	(Lothrop I94I pl. XVIIe)	D																																																		
	M	(Lothrop I94I fig.29a)	D																																																		
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	M	(Lothrop I94I pl.XXf,g)	D-EF																																																		
		PACOPAMPA																																																			
	S	(Larco I966 figs.99,I00)	D		○										○																																						
24a	S	(Larco I945:3)	D-EF																																										○									
	C	Figs. 24c,d	D																																																		
		KOTOSH																																																			
20a,b	C	(Izumi & Sono I963 pl.I27)	D													○																																						
		ICA																																																			
	C	(Menzel et.al. I964 fig.I)	AB		○																																																
40a	C	(Rowe I962 fig.52)	D																																																		
	G	(Tello I959:270 fig.33)	D																																																		
I3	PT	(Rowe I962 fig.29)	D																									○																											
I9	PT	(Rowe I962 fig.30)	D																									○																											
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	PT	Fig.I5	D																									○																											
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	PT	Fig.I8	D																									○																											
40c	C	(Ubbelohde-Doering I952)	D																																																		
		PUNKURI																																																			
	MC	(Kubler I962 pl.I23b)	D-EF																																																		
		CERRO SECHIN																																																			
29a-e	S	(Tello I956:I48-227)	EF																																								○				○						
		CHICAMA/NORTH COAST																																																			
	C	Fig.39	D																																																		
22a,b	B	(Larco I946 pl.68)	EF																																						○												
	S	(Rowe I962 figs.39a)	C																																										○					○				
	SH	(Rowe I962 figs.40,40a)	C																																													○			○			
	S	(Larco I966 pl.I39)	D																																																		
	C	Fig.2Ic	D																																										○									
	C	Fig.2Id	D																											○																								
	C	Fig.2Ia	D-EF																																																		
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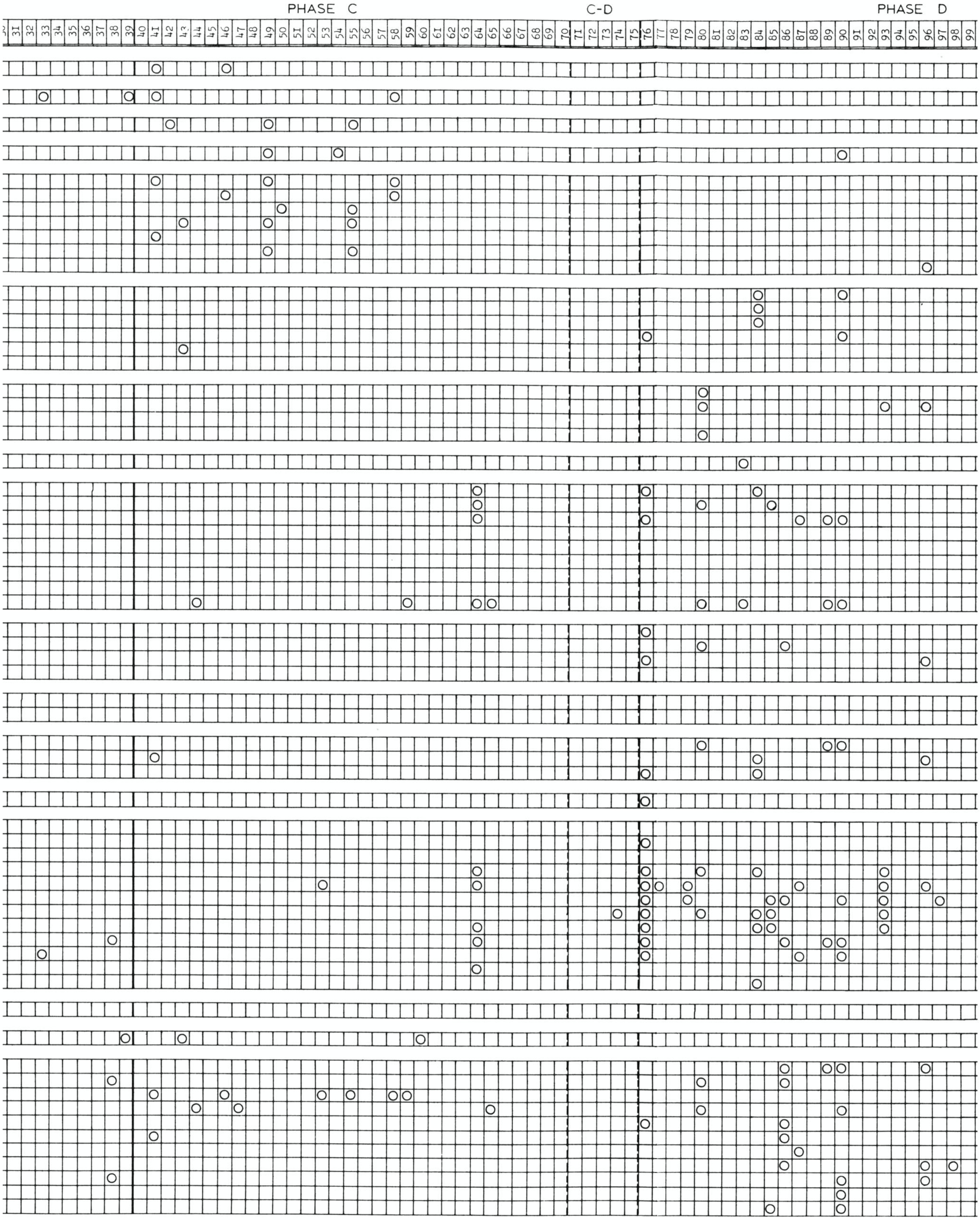
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C-D
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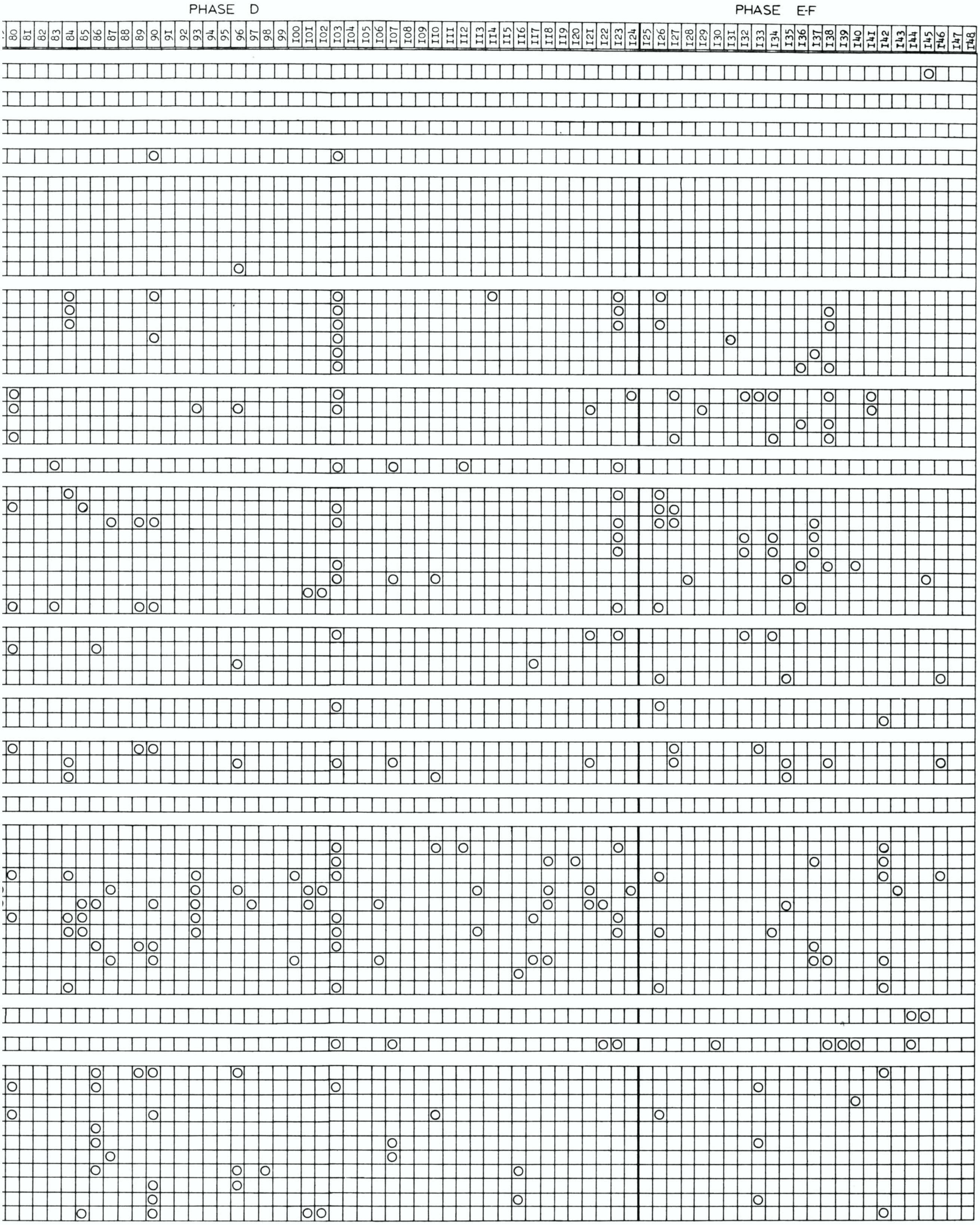
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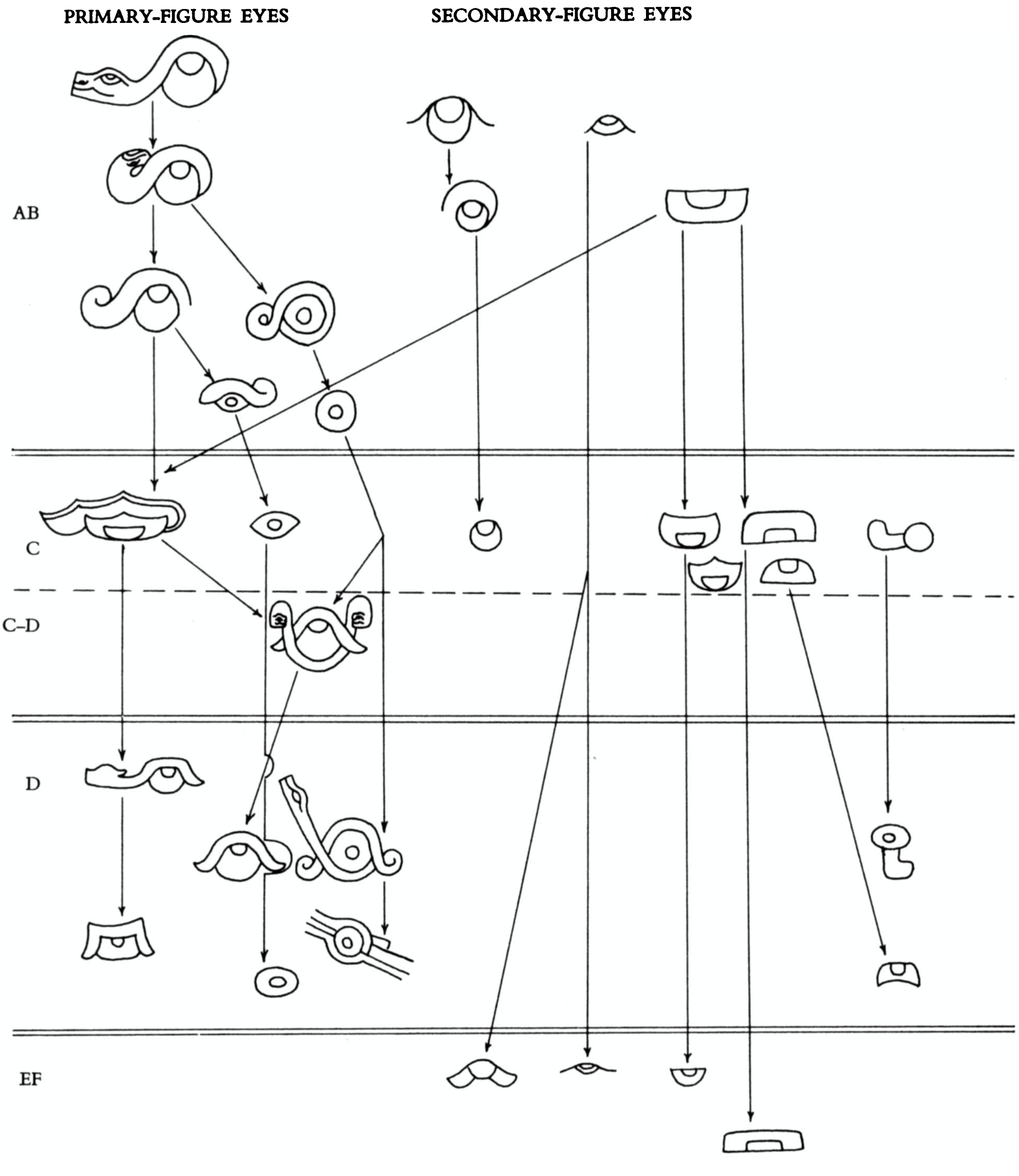
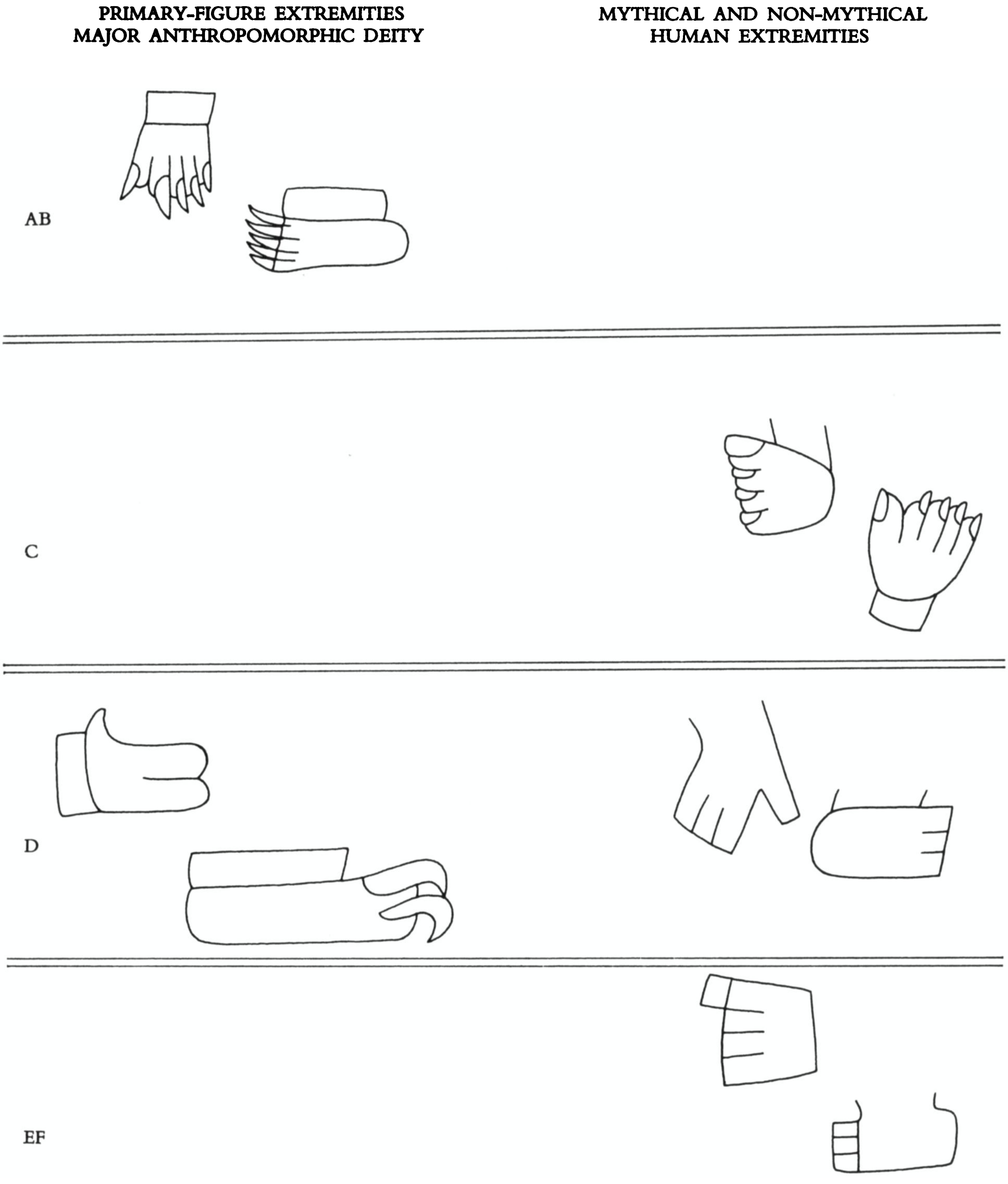


CHART III


PRIMARY-FIGURE EXTREMITIES
MAJOR ANTHROPOMORPHIC DEITY
MYTHICAL AND NON-MYTHICAL
HUMAN EXTREMITIES
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EF

CHART IV

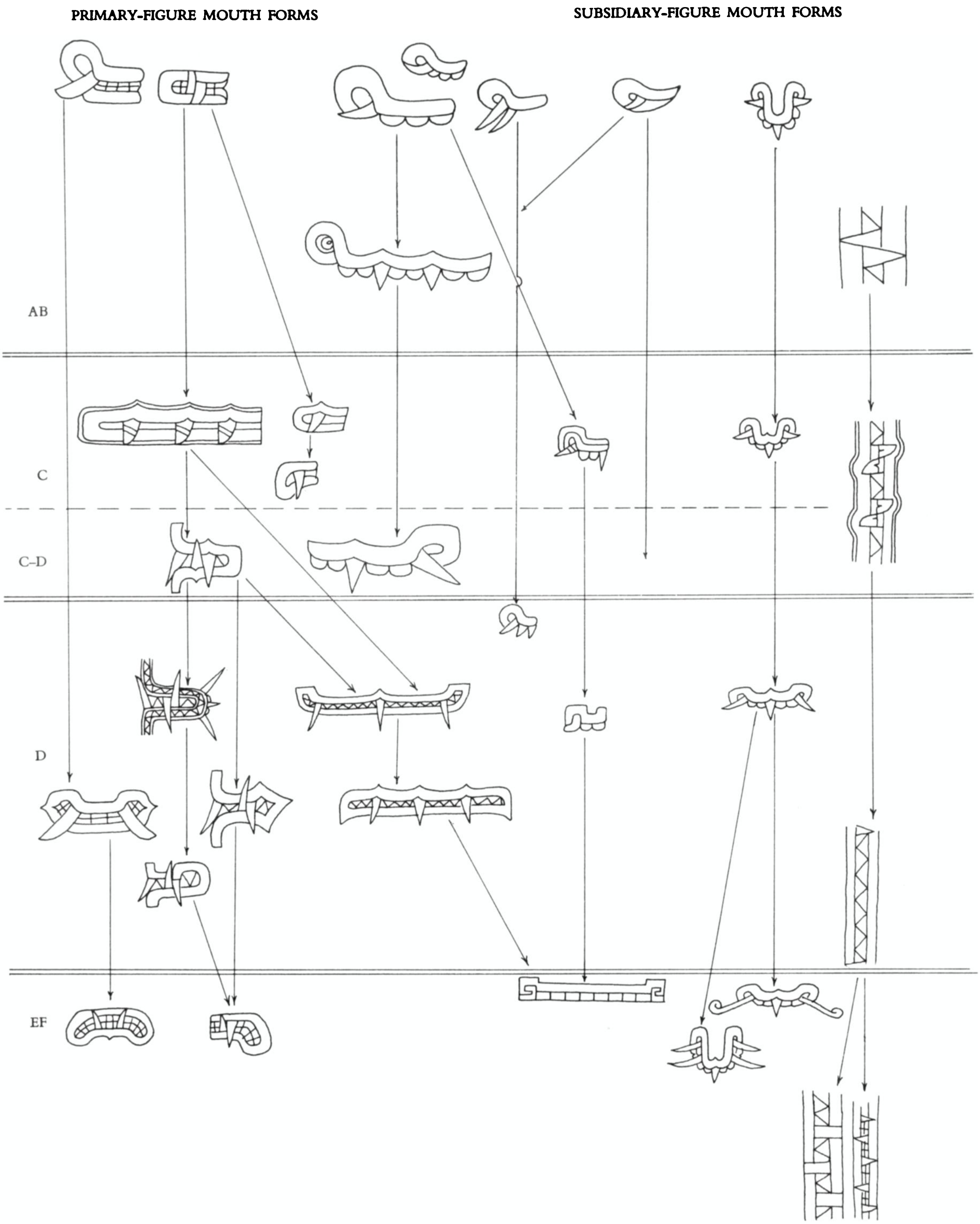
PRIMARY-FIGURE MOUTH FORMS
SUBSIDIARY-FIGURE MOUTH FORMS
AB
C
C–D
D
EF

CHART V

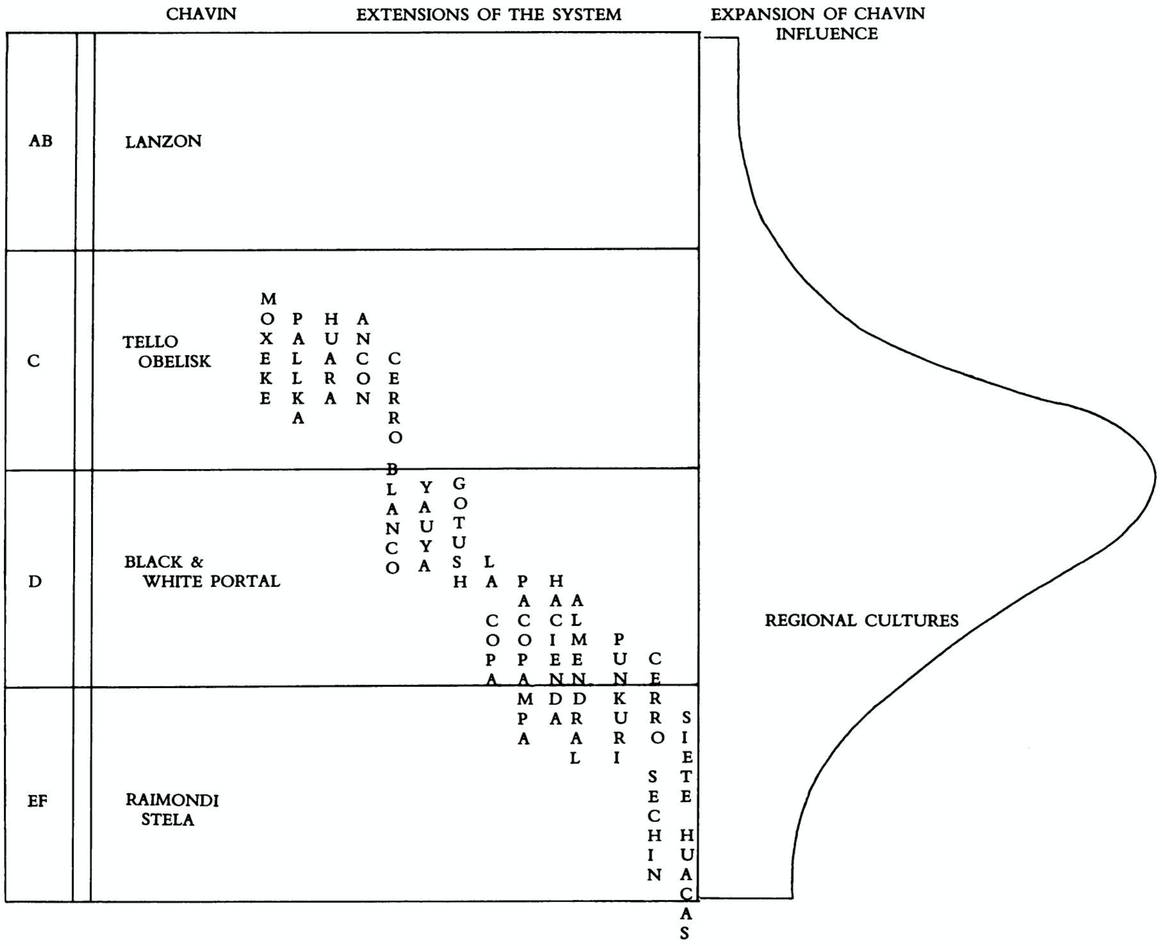
CHAVIN
EXTENSIONS OF THE SYSTEM
EXPANSION OF CHAVIN INFLUENCE
AB
LANZON
C
TELLO OBELISK
MOXEKE
PALLKA
HUARA
ANCON
CERRO BLANCO
D
BLACK & WHITE PORTAL
YAUYA
GOTUSH
LA COPA
PACOPAMPA
HACIENDA
ALMENDRAL
PUNKURI
CERRO SECHIN
SIETE HUACAS
REGIONAL CULTURES
EF
RAIMONDI STELA

CHART VI

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